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T H E
L I F E
O F

EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON,
LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR of ENGLAND,
A N D
CHANCELLOR of the UNIVERSITY of OXFORD.

CONTAINING,

- I. An Account of the CHANCELLOR'S
LIFE from his BIRTH to the
RESTORATION in 1660.
- II. A Continuation of the same, and of his
HISTORY of the GRAND REBELLION,
from the RESTORATION to his
BANISHMENT in 1667.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

Printed from his ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS, given
to the UNIVERSITY of OXFORD by
the Heirs of the late EARL of
CLARENDON.

12 Gf

Ne quid Falsi dicere audeat, ne quid Veri non audeat. Cic.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

O X F O R D,
At the CLARENDON PRINTING-HOUSE. M.DCC.LIX.

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THE
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VOLUME THE FIRST.

O X F O R D,
At the CLARENDON PRINTING-HOUSE. M.DCC.LIX.

THE LIFE

OF EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON

Lord High Chancellor of ENGLAND

CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

An Account of his Life from his Birth
to the Restoration in 1660.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

Printed from his Original Manuscripts, given
to the University of OXFORD by
the Heirs of the late Earl of
CLARENDON.

The first Edition, as printed, is now scarce. Printed

VOLUME THE FIRST.

OXFORD

At the Clarendon Printing House. MDCCLX.

T H E
P R E F A C E.

THE Reader can desire no better Recommendation of the History now published, than to be assured that it is the genuine Work of the great Earl of Clarendon. The Work itself bears plain Characteristicks of its Author. The same Dignity of Sentiment, and Style, which distinguishes THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION, and all other the Works of this noble Writer, breathes through the whole of this Performance.

THE Reason, why this History has lain so long concealed, will appear from the * Title of it, which shews that his Lordship intended it only for the Information of his Children. But the late Lord Hyde, judging that so faithful and authentic an Account of this interesting Period of our History would be an useful and acceptable Present to the Publick, and bearing a grateful Remembrance of this Place of his Education, left by his Will this, and the other Remains of his Great Grandfather, in the Hands of Trustees, to be printed at our Press, and directed that the Profits arising from the Sale should be employed towards the establishing a Riding-School in the Universty.

* See Continuation, Page 1.

THE PREFACE.

*But Lord Hyde dying before his Father, the then Earl of Clarendon, the Property of those Papers never became vested in him, and consequently this Bequest was void. However, the noble Heiresses of the Earl of Clarendon, out of their Regard to the Publick, and to this Seat of Learning, have been pleased to fulfil the kind Intentions of Lord Hyde, and adopt a Scheme recommended both by him, * and his Great Grandfather. To this End They have sent to the University this History to be printed at our Press, on Condition that the Profits arising from the Publication or Sale of this Work be applied, as a Beginning for a Fund for supporting a Manage, or Academy for Riding, and other useful Exercises, in Oxford.*

THE Work here offered to the Publick consists of two Parts. The Second, which is the most important and interesting Part of the Work, is THE HISTORY OF THE EARL OF CLARENDON'S LIFE FROM THE YEAR 1660 TO 1667, from the Restoration to the Time of his Banishment, and includes in it the most memorable Transactions of those Times. It may be therefore considered in two Views. It is a Second Part of LORD CLARENDON'S LIFE: And is also a Continuation of his former History, entitled THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION, from the Year 1660, where that ends, to the Year 1667. This is carefully printed, without any material Variations, from a Manuscript all of Lord Clarendon's own Hand-writing, excepting some few Pages in the Hand of his Amanuensis, which are only Tran-

* See his Dialogue on Education, Page 325, &c.

scripts

THE PREFACE.

III

scripts from two Papers, the one, a Letter from the Chancellor to the King on the Subject of his Majesty's declared Displeasure; the other, a Paper containing his Reasons for withdrawing himself, which He left behind him to be presented to the House of Peers.

TO this our noble Benefactresses have thought fit to prefix, as a First Part, THE HISTORY OF THE EARL OF CLARENDON'S LIFE, FROM HIS BIRTH, TO THE YEAR 1660, extracted from another Manuscript of Lord Clarendon's own Hand-writing. This other Manuscript is entitled by his Lordship, THE HISTORY OF HIS OWN LIFE, and contains likewise the Substance of THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION. However, it is not the Manuscript from whence that History was printed, but appears rather to be the rough Draught from whence that History, or however great Part of it, was afterwards compiled. For although He tells us towards the Close of this Work, that He wrote the first four Books of THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION in the Island of Jersey, (many Years before the Date of this HISTORY OF HIS LIFE) yet He likewise informs us, that He did not proceed to compleat that History till after his Banishment. It is therefore supposed by the Family (and the Supposition seems to carry with it great Probability) that, seeing an unjust and cruel Persecution prevail against him, He was induced at that Time to extend the original Plan of his Work, by introducing the particular History of his own Life, from his earliest Days down to the Time of his

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Disgrace,

THE PREFACE.

Disgrace, as the most effectual Means of vindicating his Character, wickedly traduced by his Enemies, and artfully misrepresented to a Master, whom He had long and faithfully served, whose Countenance and Favour being transferred to the Authors and Abettors of his Ruin, might probably in the Eyes of the World, give too much Colour to their Aspersions. But afterwards, on more mature Thoughts, his great Benevolence, and publick Spirit, prevailed on him to drop the Defence of his own private Character, and resume his original Plan of THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION. However his noble Descendants, willing to do Justice to the Memory of their Great Grandfather, and thinking it might be also of Service to the Publick to deliver his Exemplary Life as compleat, as They could authentically collect it, have caused such Parts of this Manuscript, as related to the Earl of Clarendon's private Life, to be extracted, and according to their Direction it is printed.

The Directions are as follows.

“THE LIFE OF LORD CHANCELLOR CLAREN-
 “RENDON FROM HIS BIRTH TO THE RESTO-
 “RATION OF THE ROYAL FAMILY, is ex-
 “tracted from a large Manuscript in his own
 “Hand-writing, in which is contained what has
 “already been printed in THE HISTORY OF
 “THE REBELLION; and therefore Care has
 “been taken to transcribe only what has never
 “yet been published: But as those Passages are
 “often intermixed with the History already
 “printed,

THE PREFACE.

“printed, it has been found necessary to preserve
“Connection, by giving * Abstracts of some
“Parts of the printed History, with References
“to the Pages, where the Reader may be satis-
“fied more at large. And, as great Pains have
“been taken to put this First Part in the Order
“it now stands, it is desired that in this first
“Edition it may be printed exactly after the
“Copy to be sent.

“THE original Manuscript of THE CONTI-
“NUATION OF LORD CHANCELLOR CLAREN-
“DON’S LIFE FROM 1660 TO 1667 INCLUSIVE
“is very incorrect, many Words being omitted,
“that must necessarily be supplied: But it is de-
“sired that no other Alterations may be made,
“except in the Orthography, or where literal,
“or grammatical Errors require it, or where
“little Inaccuracies may have escaped the At-
“tention of the Author. The Work must be
“printed entire, as it now stands, no Part
“of it left out, not an Abstract, nor a Refe-
“rence omitted.

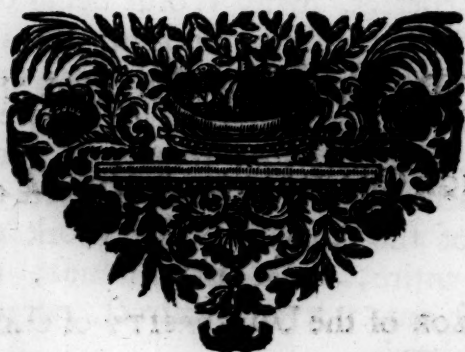
*THESE Directions have been punctually ob-
served. The Second Part is printed from his
Lordship’s Manuscripts entire, without any Omis-
sion, or Variation, except as above. And with
Regard to the First Part, the Extract sent to us
has been carefully compared with the Original*

* Those Passages are indented. Those printed in *Italicks*, Pages 59, 82, 90, 135, the Note Page 100, and some others still less material, were added with the same View.

Manuscript

THE PREFACE.

Manuscript it self, and found to agree: So that the Whole here offered to the Publick is the genuine Work of the Lord Chancellor CLARENDON. And both these Valuable Original Manuscripts are given to the University by our noble Benefactresses, to be deposited in the Publick Library.



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L I F E

O F

EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON,

LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR of *ENGLAND*,

A N D

CHANCELLOR of the UNIVERSITY of *OXFORD*,

From his Birth to the Restoration in 1660.

CONTINUATION

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The LIFE of
EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON

From his Birth to the Restoration of the
ROYAL FAMILY in 1660.

PART the FIRST.

Montpelier, 23 July 1668.

HE was born in *Dinton* in the County of *Wilts*, Place of Mr. E. Hyde's Birth. six Miles from *Salisbury*, in the House of his Father who was *Henry Hyde*, the third Son His Grandfather's of *Laurence-Hyde*, of *West-Hatch*, Esq; which *Laurence* was the younger Son of *Robert Hyde* of *Norbury* in the County of *Chester*, Esq; which Estate of *Norbury* had continued in that Family, and descended from Father to Son from before the Conquest, and continues to this Day in *Edward Hyde*, who is possessed thereof: The other Estate of *Hyde* having some Ages since fallen into that of *Norbury*, by a Marriage, and continues still in that House.

LAURENCE, being as was said, the younger Some Account of his Family: of his Grandfather. Son of *Robert Hyde* of *Norbury*, and the Custom of that County of *Chester* being, to make small Provisions for the younger Sons of the best Families, was by the Care and Providence of his Mother, well educated, and when his Age was fit for it, was placed as a Clerk in one of the Auditor's Offices of the Exchequer, where He gained great Experience,

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and

and was employed in the Affairs and Business of Sir *John Thynne*, who under the Protection and Service of the Duke of *Somerset*, had in a short Time⁽²⁾ raised a very great Estate; and was the first of that Name who was known, and left the House of *Long-leat* to his Heir, with other Lands to a great Value. *Laurence Hyde* continued not above a Year (or very little more) in that Relation, and never gained any Thing by it; but shortly after married *Anne*, the Relict and Widow of *Matthew Calthurst*, Esq; of *Claverton* near *Bath* in the County of *Somerset*, by whom He had a fair Fortune: And by her had four Sons and four Daughters, that is to say, *Robert*, *Laurence*, *Henry*, and *Nicholas*, *Joanna*, married to *Edward Younge* of *Durnford* near *Salisbury*, Esq; *Alice*, married to *John St. Loe* of *Kingston* in the County of *Wilts*, Esq; *Anne*, married to *Thomas Baynard* of *Wanstrow* in the County of *Somerset*, Esq; and *Susanna*, married to Sir *George Fuy* of *Kynetton* in the County of *Wilts*, Knight: And these four Sons and four Daughters lived all above forty Years after the Death of their Father.

LAURENCE, shortly after his Marriage with *Anne*, purchased the Manor of *West-Hatch*, where He died, and several other Lands; and having taken Care to breed his Sons at the University of *Oxford*, and Inns of Court, leaving his Wife, the Mother of all his Children, possessed of the greatest Part of his Estate, presuming that She would be careful and kind to all their Children, upon that Account left the Bulk of his Estate to *Robert* his eldest Son, who married *Anne* the Daughter of *Castilian* of *Benham* in the County of *Berks*, Esq; who had many Children, and lived to the Age of eighty, and left his Estate a little impaired by the Marriage of many Daughters, to his Son. To *Laurence* his second Son (who was afterwards Sir *Laurence*, and Attorney General to Queen *Anne*, and a Lawyer of great Name and Practice) He left the improprieate
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Part I. EDWARD *Earl of CLARENDON.*

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Rectory of *Dinton*, after the Life of *Anne* his Mother, charged with an Annuity of forty Pounds *per Annum* to his third Son *Henry* for his Life; and He charged some other Part of his Estate with an Annuity of thirty Pounds *per Annum* to his youngest Son *Nicholas*, for his Life, relying upon the Goodness of his Wife, who was left very rich, as well by his Donation, as from her Husband *Calthurst*, that She would provide for the better Support of the younger Children; two of which raised their Fortunes by the Law, *Laurence*, as was said before, being Attorney General to the Queen, and *Nicholas*, the youngest Son; living to be Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and dying in that Office; both of them leaving behind them many Sons and Daughters.

HENRY, the third Son, being of the Middle ^{Of his Father.} Temple at his Father's Death, and being thought to be most in the Favour of his Mother, and being ready to be called to the Bar, though He had studied the Law very well, and was a very good Scholar, having proceeded Master of Arts in *Oxford*, had yet no Mind to the Practice of the Law, but had long had an Inclination to travel beyond the Seas, which in that strict Time of Queen *Elizabeth*, was not usual, except to Merchants, and such Gentlemen who resolved to be Soldiers; and at last prevailed with his Mother to give him Leave to go to the *Spa* for his Health, from whence He followed his former Inclinations, and passing through *Germany*, He went into *Italy*, and from *Florence* He went to *Syena*, and thence to *Rome*: Which was not only strictly inhibited to all the Queen's Subjects, but was very dangerous to all the *English* Nation who did not profess themselves *Roman Catholics*; to which Profession He was very averse, in Regard of the great Animosity *Sixtus Quintus* (who was then Pope) had to the Person of Queen *Elizabeth*: Yet Cardinal *Allen*, who was the last *English* Cardinal,

being then in *Rome*, He received so much Protection from him, that during the Time He staid there, which was some Months, He received no Trouble, though many *English* Priests murmured very much, and said, "that my Lord Cardinal was much to be
 "blamed for protecting such Men, who came to
 "*Rome*, and so seeing the Ecclesiastical Persons of
 "that Nation, discovered them afterwards when
 "They came into *England*, and so They were put
 "to Death."

AFTER He was returned into *England* his Mother was very glad, and persuaded him very earnestly to marry, offering him in that Case, that whereas She had the Rectory of *Dinton* in Jointure for her Life, upon which He had only an Annuity of forty Pounds *per Annum*, for his Life, the Remainder being to come to *Laurence* the second Brother and his Heirs for ever, She would immediately resign her Term to him, for his better Support, and would likewise purchase of *Laurence*, the said Rectory for the Life of *Henry*, and such a Wife as He should marry; upon which Encouragement, and depending still upon his Mother's future Bounty, about the thirtieth Year of his Age, He married *Mary*, one of the Daughters and Heirs of *Edward Langford* of *Trowbridge* in the County of *Wilts*, Esq; by whom in present, and after her Mother, He had a good Fortune, in the Account of that Age. From that Time, He lived a private Life at *Dinton* aforesaid, with great Chearfulness and Content, and with a general Reputation throughout the whole Country; being a Person of great Knowledge and Reputation, and of so great Esteem for Integrity, that most Persons near him referred all Matters of Contention and Difference which did arise amongst them, to his Determination; by which, that Part of the Country lived in more Peace and Quietness than many of their Neighbours. During the Time of Queen *Elizabeth* He served as a Burgess for some
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(3) Part I. EDWARD *Earl of CLARENDON.*

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neighbour Boroughs in many Parliaments; but from the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*, He never was in *London*, though He lived above thirty Years after; and his Wife, who was married to him above forty Years, never was in *London* in her Life; the Wisdom and Frugality of that Time being such, that few Gentlemen made Journies to *London*, or any other expensive Journies, but upon important Business, and their Wives never; by which Providence, They enjoyed and improved their Estates in the Country, and kept good Hospitality in their Houses, brought up their Children well, and were beloved by their Neighbours; and in this Rank, and with this Reputation this Gentleman lived till He was seventy Years of Age; his younger Brother the Chief Justice dying some Years before him, and his two elder Brothers outliving him. The great Affection between the four Brothers, and towards their Sisters, of whom all, enjoyed Plenty and Contentedness, was very notorious throughout the Country, and of Credit to them all.

HENRY HYDE the third Son of *Laurence*, by his Intermarriage with *Mary Langford*, had four Sons and five Daughters, and being by the Kindness and Bounty of his Mother, who lived long, and till He had seven or eight Children, possessed of such an Estate as made his Condition easy to him, lived still in the Country, as was said before. *Laurence* his eldest Son died young; *Henry* his second Son lived till He was twenty six or twenty seven Years of Age; *Edward* his third Son was He who came afterwards to be Earl of *Clarendon*, and Lord High Chancellor of *England*; *Nicholas* died young; *Henry* and *Edward* were both in the University of *Oxford* together; *Henry* being Master of Arts the Act before his younger Brother *Edward* came to the University, who was designed by his Father to the Clergy.

Time of the
Author's
Birth.
His Educa-
tion.

He is sent to
Oxford.

EDWARD HYDE, being the third Son of his Father, was born at *Dinton* upon the eighteenth Day of *February* in the Year 1608, being the fifth Year of King *James*; and was always bred in his Father's House under the Care of a Schoolmaster, to whom his Father had given the Vicarage of that Parish, who having been always a Schoolmaster, had bred many good Scholars, and this Person of whom we now speak, principally by the Care and Conversation of his Father (who was an excellent Scholar, and took Pleasure in conferring with him, and contributed much more to his Education than the School did) was thought fit to be sent to the University soon after He was thirteen Years of Age; and being a younger Son of a younger Brother, was to expect a small Patrimony from his Father, but to make his own Fortune by his own Industry; and in Order to that, was sent by his Father to *Oxford* at that Time, being about *Magdalen* Election Time, in Expectation that He should have been chosen Demy of *Magdalen* College, the Election being to be at that Time, for which He was recommended by a special Letter from King *James* to Dr. *Langton* then President of that College; but upon Pretence that the Letter came too late, though the Election was not then begun, He was not chosen, and so remained in *Magdalen* Hall (where He was before admitted) under the Tuition of Mr. *John Oliver*, a Fellow of that College, who had been Junior of the Act a Month before, and a Scholar of Eminency.

THE Year following, the President of the College having received Reprehension from the Lord *Conway* then Secretary of State, for giving no more Respect to the King's Letter, He was chosen the next Election in the first Place, but that whole Year passed without any Avoidance of a Demy's Place, which was never known before in any Man's Memory; and that Year King *James* died, and shortly after,

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after, *Henry* his elder Brother, and thereupon his Father having now no other Son, changed his former Inclination, and resolved to send his Son *Edward* to the Inns of Court: He was then entered in the middle Temple by his Uncle *Nicholas Hyde*, who Mr. Hyde entered of the Middle Temple. was then Treasurer of that Society, and afterwards Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench; but by Reason of the great Plague then at *London* in the first Year of King *Charles*, and the Parliament being then adjourned to *Oxford*, whither the Plague was likewise then brought by Sir *James Hussy*, one of the Masters of the Chancery, who died in *New-College* the first Night after his Arrival at *Oxford*, and shortly after Dr. *Chaloner* Principal of *Alban-Hall*, who had supped that Night with Sir *James Hussy*, He did not go to the middle Temple till the *Michaelmas* Term after the Term at *Reading*, but remained partly at his Father's House, and partly at the University, where He took the Degree of Bachelor of Arts, and then left it, rather with the Opinion of a young Man of Parts and Pregnancy of Wit, than that He had improved it much by Industry, the Discipline of that Time being not so strict as it hath been since, and as it ought to be; and the Custom of Drinking being too much introduced and practised, his elder Brother having been too much corrupted in that Kind, and so having at his first Coming given him some Liberty, at least some Example towards that License, inasmuch as He was often heard to say, "that it was a very good Fortune to him, that his Father so soon removed him from the University," though He always reserved a high Esteem of it.

BEFORE the Beginning of *Michaelmas* Term (which was in the Year 1625) the City being then clear from the Plague, He went from *Marlborough* after the Quarter Sessions with his Uncle *Nicholas Hyde* to *London*, and arrived there the Eve of the

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Term,

Term, being then between sixteen and seventeen Years of Age. In the Evening He went to Prayers to the Temple Church, and was there seized upon by a Fit of an Ague very violently, which proved a Quartan, and brought him in a short Time so weak, that his Friends much feared a Consumption, so that his Uncle thought fit shortly after *Albolland-tide* to send him into the Country to *Pirton* in *North Wilshire*, whither his Father had removed himself from *Dinton*; chusing rather to live upon his own Land, the which He had purchased many Years before, and to rent *Dinton*, which was but a Lease for Lives, to a Tenant. He came Home to his Father's House very weak, his Ague continuing so violently upon him (though it sometimes changed its Course from a quartan to a tertian, and then to a quotidian, and on new Year's Day He had two hot Fits and two cold Fits) until *Whitsunday* following, that all Men thought him to be in a Consumption; it then left him, and He grew quickly strong again. In this Time of his Sickness his Uncle was made Chief Justice: It was *Michaelmas* following before He returned to the Middle Temple, having by his Want of Health lost a full Year of Study, and when He returned, it was without great Application to the Study of the Law for some Years, it being then a Time when the Town was full of Soldiers, the King having then a War both with *Spain* and *France*, and the Business of the Isle of *Ree* shortly followed; and He had gotten into the Acquaintance of many of those Officers, which took up too much of his Time for one Year; but as the War was quickly ended, so He had the good Fortune quickly to make a full Retreat from that Company, and from any Conversation with any of them, and without any Hurt or Prejudice; insomuch as He used often to say, "that since it pleased God to preserve him whilst He did keep that Company" (in

Removed to
Pirton.

Return to the
Middle
Temple.

Part I. EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON.

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"(in which He wonderfully escaped from being involved in many Inconveniences) and to withdraw him so soon from it, He was not sorry that He had some Experience in the Conversation of such Men, and of the License of those Times," which was very exorbitant: Yet when He did indulge himself that Liberty, it was without any signal Debauchery, and not without some Hours every Day, at least every Night, spent amongst his Books; yet He would not deny that more than to be able to answer his Uncle, who almost every Night put a Case to him in Law, He could not bring himself to an industrious Pursuit of the Law Study; but rather loved polite Learning and History, in which, especially, in the *Roman*, he had been always conversant.

IN the Year 1628 his Father gave him Leave to ride the Circuit in the Summer with his Uncle the Chief Justice, who then rode the *Norfolk Circuit*; and indeed desired it, both that He might see those Counties, and especially that He might be out of *London* in that Season, when the Small Pox raged very furiously, and many Persons, some whereof were much acquainted with him, died of that Disease in the Middle Temple itself. It was about the Middle of *July* when that Circuit began, and *Cambridge* was the first Place the Judges begun at; Mr. Justice *Harvey*, (one of the Judges of the Common Pleas) was in Commission with the Chief Justice: They both came into *Cambridge* on the *Saturday Night*, and the next Day Mr. *Edward Hyde* fell sick, which was imputed only to his Journey the Day before in very hot Weather; but He continued so ill the Day or two following, that it was apprehended that He might have the Small Pox; whereupon He was removed out of *Trinity College*, where the Judges were lodged, to the *Sun Inn*, over against the College Gate, the Judges being to go out of Town the next

next Day; but before they went, the Small Pox appeared; whereupon his Uncle put him under the Care of Mr. *Crane* an eminent Apothecary, who had been bred up under Dr. *Butler*, and was in much greater Practice than any Physician in the University; and left with him *Laurence St. Loe* one of his Servants, who was likewise his Nephew, to assist and comfort him. It pleased God to preserve him from that devouring Disease, which was spread all over him very furiously, and had so far prevailed over him, that for some Hours both his Friends and Physician consulted of Nothing but of the Place and Manner of his Burial; but as I said, by God's Goodness He escaped that Sickness, and within few Days more than a Month after his first Indisposition, He passed in moderate Journeys to his Father's House at *Pirton*, where He arrived a Day or two before *Bartholemew Day*.⁽⁶⁾

Return again
to Pirton after
his Recovery.

HE was often wont to say, that He was reading to his Father in *Camden's Annals*, and that particular Place, in which it is said, "*Johannes Feltonus, qui Bullam Pontificiam Valvis Palatii Episcopi Londinensis affixerat jam deprehensus, cum fugere nollet, Factum confessus quod tamen Crimen agnoscere noluit, &c.*" when a Person of the Neighbourhood knocked at the Door, and being called in, told his Father, that a Post was then passed through the Village to *Charlton*, the House of the Earl of *Berkshire*, to inform the Earl of *Berkshire* that the Duke of *Buckingham* was killed the Day before (being the 24th of *August*, *Bartholemew Day*, in the Year 1628) by one *John Felton*, * which dismal Accident happening in the Court, made a great Change in the State, produced a sudden Disbanding of all Armies, and a due Observation of, and Obedience to the Laws; so that

* For the Particulars of the Duke of *Buckingham's* Death, and of the Alterations it produced at Court and in publick Affairs, Vid. Hist. of the Reb. Fol. Vol. I. Page 22, &c.

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Part I. EDWARD *Earl of CLARENDON*.

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there being no more Mutations in View (which usually affect the Spirits of young Men, at least hold them some Time at Gaze) Mr. *Hyde* returned again to his Studies at the Middle Temple, having it still in his Resolution to dedicate himself to the Profession of the Law, without declining the politer Learning, to which his Humour and his Conversation kept him always very indulgent; and to lay some Obligation upon himself to be fixed to that Course of Life, He inclined to a Proposition of Marriage, which having no other Passion in it, than an Appetite to a convenient Estate, succeeded not, yet produced new Acquaintance, and continued the same Inclinations.

ABOUT this Time his Uncle Sir *Nicholas Hyde* Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, died of a malignant Fever, gotten from the Infection of some Goat in his Summer Circuit. He was a Man of excellent Learning for that Province He was to govern, of unsuspected and unblemished Integrity, of an exemplar Gravity and Austerity, which was necessary for the Manners of that Time, corrupted by the marching of Armies, and by the License after the disbanding them; and though upon his Promotion some Years before, from a private Practicer of the Law, to the supreme Judicatory in it, by the Power and Recommendation of the great Favourite, of whose Council He had been, He was exposed to much Envy and some Prejudice; yet his Behaviour was so grateful to all the Judges, who had an entire Confidence in him, his Service so useful to the King in his Government, his Justice and Sincerity so conspicuous throughout the Kingdom, that the Death of no Judge had in any Time been more lamented.

THE Loss of so beneficial an Encouragement and Support in that Profession, did not at all discourage his Nephew in his Purpose; rather added new Resolution

Mr. Hyde's
Marriage.

Death of his
Wife.

solution to him; and to call Home all straggling (7)
and wandering Appetites, which naturally produce
Irresolution and Inconstancy in the Mind, with his
Father's Consent and Approbation, He married a
young Lady very fair and beautiful, the Daughter
of Sir *George Ayliffe*, a Gentleman of a good Name
and Fortune in the County of *Wilts*, where his own
Expectations lay, and by her Mother (a *St. John*)
nearly allied to many noble Families in *England*.
He enjoyed this Comfort and Composure of Mind a
very short Time, for within less than six Months af-
ter He was married, being upon the Way from
London towards his Father's House, she fell sick at
Reading, and being removed to a Friend's House
near that Town, the Small Pox discovered them-
selves, and (she being with Child) forced her to mis-
carry; and She died within two Days. He bore her
Loss with so great Passion and Confusion of Spirit,
that it shook all the Frame of his Resolutions, and
Nothing but his entire Duty and Reverence to his
Father, kept him from giving over all Thoughts of
Books, and transporting himself beyond the Seas, to
enjoy his own Melancholy; nor could any Persua-
sion or Importunity from his Friends, prevail with
him in some Years to think of another Marriage.
There was an ill Accident in the Court befel a La-
dy of a Family nearly allied to his Wife, whose Me-
mory was very dear to him, and there always con-
tinued a firm Friendship in him to all her Alliance,
which likewise ever manifested an equal Affection
to him; amongst those was *William Viscount Gran-
dison*, a young Man of extraordinary Hope, between
whom and the other there was an entire Confide-
nce. The Injury was of that Nature, that the
young Lord thought of Nothing but repairing it his
own Way; but those Imaginations were quickly at
an End, by the King's rigorous and just Proceed-
ing against the Persons offending, in committing
them

them both to the Tower, and declaring that “since
 “He was satisfied that there was a Promise of Mar-
 “riage in the Case, the Gentleman should make
 “good his Promise by marrying the Lady; or be
 “kept in Prison, and for ever banished from all
 “Pretence or Relation to the Court,” where He
 had a very great Credit and Interest: This Decla-
 ration by the King, made the nearest Friends of the
 Lady pursue the Design of this Reparation more
 solicitously, in which They had all Access to the
 King, who continued still in his declared Judgment
 in the Matter. In this Pursuit Mr. *Hyde’s* passionate
 Affection to the Family embarked him, and They
 were all as willing to be guided by his Conduct;
 the Business was to be followed by frequent Instan-
 ces at Court, and Conferences with those who had
 most Power and Opportunity to confirm the King
 in the Sense He had entertained; and those Confe-
 rences were wholly managed by him, who thereby
 had all Admission to the Persons of Alliance to the
 Lady, and so concerned in the Dishonour, which
 was a great Body of Lords and Ladies of principal
 Relations in Court, with whom in a short Time He
 was of great Credit and Esteem; of which the Mar-
 quis of *Hamilton* was one, who having married an
 excellent Lady, Cousin-German to the injured Per-
 son, seemed the most concerned and most zealous
 for her Vindication, and who had at that Time the
 most Credit of any Man about the Court, and up-
 on that Occasion entered into a Familiarity with
 him, and made as great Professions of Kindness to
 him as could pass to a Person at that Distance from
 him, which continued till the End and Conclusion
 of that Affair, when the Marquis believed that Mr.
Hyde had discovered some Want of Sincerity in him
 in that Prosecution, which He pretended so much
 to assert.

*The Occasion
 of Mr.
 Hyde’s Intro-
 duction to the
 Marquis of
 Hamilton.*

THE

THE Mention of this particular little Story; in itself of no seeming Consequence, is not inserted here only as it made some Alterations, and accidentally introduced him into another Way of Conversation than He had formerly been accustomed to, and which in Truth by the Acquaintance, by the Friends, and Enemies, He then made, had an Influence upon the whole Course of his Life afterwards; but as it made such Impressions upon the whole Court, by dividing the Lords and Ladies, both in their Wishes and Appearances, that much of that Faction grew out of it, which survived the Memory of the Original; and from this Occasion (to shew us from how small Springs great Rivers may arise) the Women, who till then had not appeared concerned in publick Affairs, began to have some Part in all Business; and having shewn themselves warm upon this Amour, as their Passions or Affections carried them, and thereby entered into new Affections, and formed new Interests; the Activity in their Spirits remained still vigorous when the Object which first inspired it was vanished and put in Oblivion. Nor were the very Ministers of State vacant upon this Occasion; They who for their own Sakes, or, as They pretended, for the King's Dignity, and Honour of the Court, desired the Ruin of the Gentleman, pressed the Magnitude of the Crime, in bringing so great a Scandal upon the King's Family, which would hinder Persons of Honour from sending their Children to the Court; and that there could be no Reparation without the Marriage, which They therefore only insisted upon, because They believed He would prefer Banishment before it; others who had Friendship for him and believed that He had an Interest in the Court, which might accommodate himself and them if this Breach were closed any Way, therefore if the King's Severity could not be prevailed upon, wished it concluded by the Marriage;

riage; which neither himself nor They upon whom He most depended, would ever be brought to consent to; so that all the Jealousies and Animosities in the Court or State, came to play their own Prizes in the widening or accommodating this Contention. In the Conclusion, on a sudden, contrary to the Expectation of any Man of either Party, the Gentleman was immediately sent out of the Kingdom, under the Formality of a temporary and short Banishment, and the Lady commended to her Friends, to be taken care of till her Delivery; and from that Time never Word more spoken of the Business, nor shall their Names ever come upon the Stage by any Record of mine. It was only observed, that at this Time there was a great Change in the Friendships of the Court, and in those of the Marquis of *Hamilton*, who came now into the Queen's Confidence, towards whom He had always been in great Jealousy; and another Lady more appeared in View, who had for the most Part before continued behind the Curtain; and who in few Years after came to a very unhappy and untimely End.

Now after a Widowhood of near three Years, Mr. *Hyde* inclined again to marry, which He knew would be the most grateful Thing to his Father (for whom He had always a profound Reverence) He could do; and though He needed no other Motive to it, He would often say, that though He was now called to the Bar, and entered into the Profession of the Law, He was not so confident of himself that He should not start aside, if his Father should die, who was then near seventy Years of Age, having long entertained Thoughts of Travels, but that He thought it necessary to lay some Obligation upon himself, which would suppress and restrain all those Appetites; and thereupon resolved to marry, and so, being about the Age of twenty four Years, in the Year of our Lord 1632, He married the Daughter ^{His second} ^{Marriage.} of

of Sir *Thomas Aylesbury* Baronet, Master of Requests to the King; by whom He had many Children of both Sexes, with whom He lived very comfortably in the most uncomfortable Times, and very joyfully in those Times when Matter of Joy was administered, for the Space of five or six and thirty Years; what befell him after her Death will be recounted in its Place. From the Time of his Marriage He laid aside all other Thoughts but of his Profession, to the which He betook himself very seriously; but in the very Entrance into it, He met with a great Mortification; some Months after He was married, He went with his Wife to wait upon his Father and Mother at his House at *Pirton*, to make them Sharrers in that Satisfaction which They had so long desired to see, and in which They took great Delight.

His Father had long suffered under an Indisposition (even before the Time his Son could remember) which gave him rather frequent Pains, than Sickness; and gave him Cause to be terrified with the Expectation of the Stone, without being exercised with the present Sense of it; but from the Time He was sixty Years of Age, it increased very much, and four or five Years before his Death, with Circumstances scarce heard of before, and the Causes whereof are not yet understood by any Physician; He was very often, both in the Day and the Night, forced to make Water, seldom in any Quantity, because He could not retain it long enough, and in the Close of that Work, without any sharp Pain in those Parts, He was still and constantly seized on by so sharp a Pain in the left Arm, for Half a Quarter of an Hour, or near so much, that the Torment made him as pale (whereas He was otherwise of a very sanguine Complexion) as if He were dead; and He used to say, "that He had "passed the Pangs of Death, and He should die in
"one

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“one of those Fits;” as soon as it was over, which was quickly, He was the chearfullest Man living; eat well such Things as He could fancy, walked, slept, digested, conversed with such a Promptness and Vivacity upon all Arguments (for He was *omnifariam doctus*) as hath been seldom known in a Man of his Age: But He had the Image of Death so constantly before him in those continual Torments, that for many Years before his Death, He always parted with his Son, as to see him no more; and at parting still shewed him his Will, discoursing very particularly, and very chearfully of all Things He would have performed after his Death.

HE had for some Time before resolved to leave the Country, and to spend the Remainder of his Time in *Salisbury*, where he had caused a House to be provided for him, both for the Neighbourhood of the Cathedral Church, where He could perform his Devotions every Day, and for the Conversation of many of his Family who lived there, and not far from it; and especially that He might be buried there, where many of his Family and Friends lay; and He obliged his Son to accompany him thither before his Return to *London*; and He came to *Salisbury* on the *Friday* before *Michaelmas* Day in the Year 1632, and lodged in his own House that Night. The next Day He was so wholly taken up in receiving Visits from his many Friends, being a Person wonderfully revered in those Parts, that He walked very little out of his House. The next Morning, being *Sunday*, He rose very early, and went to two or three Churches, and when He returned, which was by eight of the Clock, He told his Wife and his Son, “that He had been to look out a Place to be buried in, but found none against which He had not some Exception, the Cathedral only excepted; where He had made Choice of a Place near a Kinsman of his own

His Father's Removal to Salisbury.

* B

“Name,

"Name, and had shewed it to the Sexton, whom⁽¹⁰⁾
 "He had sent for to that Purpose; and wished them
 "to see him buried there;" and this with as much
 Composedness of Mind as if it had made no Im-
 pression on him; then went to the Cathedral to Ser-
 mon, and spent the whole Day in as chearful Con-
 versation with his Friends (saving only the frequent
 Interruptions his Infirmary gave him once in two or
 three Hours, sometimes more, sometimes less) as
 the Man in the most confirmed Health could do.

Monday was Michaelmas Day, when in the Morning
 He went to visit his Brother Sir *Laurence Hyde*, who
 was then making a Journey in the Service of the
 King, and from him went to the Church to a Ser-
 mon, where He found himself a little pressed as He
 used to be, and therefore thought fit to make what
 Haste He could to his House, and was no sooner
 come thither into a lower Room, than having made
 Water, and the Pain in his Arm seizing upon him,
And Death. He fell down dead, without the least Motion of any
 Limb. The Suddenness of it made it apprehended
 to be an Apoplexy, but there being Nothing like
 Convulsions, or the least Distortion or Alteration in
 the Visage, it is not like to be from that Cause; nor
 could the Physicians make any reasonable Guesses
 from whence that mortal Blow proceeded. He
 wanted about six Weeks of attaining the Age of se-
 venty, and was the greatest Instance of the Felicity
 of a Country Life that was seen in that Age; hav-
 ing enjoyed a competent, and to him a plentiful
 Fortune, a very great Reputation of Piety and Vir-
 tue, and his Death being attended with universal
 Lamentation. It cannot be expressed with what A-
 gony his Son bore this Loss, having as He was used
 to say, "not only lost the best Father, but the best
 "Friend, and the best Companion He ever had or
 "could have;" and He was never so well pleased,
 as when He had fit Occasions given him to mention
 his

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his Father, whom He did in Truth believe to be the wisest Man He had ever known; and He was often heard to say, in the Time when his Condition was at highest, "that though God Almighty had "been very propitious to him, in raising him to "great Honours and Preferments, He did not value "any Honour He had so much, as the being the "Son of such a Father and Mother, for whose Sakes "principally He thought God had conferred those "Blessings upon him."

THERE fell out at this Time or thereabouts, a great Alteration in the Court and State, by the Death of the Earl of *Portland*, Lord High Treasurer of *England*. The King from the Death of the Duke of *Buckingham* had not only been very reserved in his Bounty, but so frugal in his own Expense, that He had retrenched much of what had formerly issued out for his Household, infomuch as every Year somewhat had been paid of his Debts. He resolved now to govern his Treasury by Commission, and to take a constant Account of it; and thereby to discover what had been of late done amiss. The Commissioners He appointed were, the Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury* Dr. *Laud* (formerly The Treasurer's Office given to Commissioners. Bishop of *London*) the Lord Keeper *Coventry*, and other principal Officers of State, who together with the Lord *Cottington* (who was Chancellor of the Exchequer, and by his Office of the Quorum in that Commission) were to supply the Office of Treasurer in all Particulars. The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who till now had only intended the good Government of the Church, without intermeddling in secular Affairs, otherwise than when the Discipline of the Church was concerned, in which He was very strict, both in the High Commission, and in all other Places, where He sat as a Privy-Counsellor, well foreseeing, as He made manifest upon several Occasions, the Growth of the *Schismatics*, and that if

of whom Archbishop Laud is one.

They were not with Rigour suppressed, They would⁽¹¹⁾ put the whole Kingdom into a Flame, which shortly after fell out to be too confessed a Truth; though for the present his Providence only served to increase the Number of his Enemies, who had from that his Zeal contracted all the Malice against him that can be imagined, and which He, out of the Conscience of his Duty, and the Purity of his Intentions, and his Knowledge of the King's full Approbation of his Vigilance and Ardour, too much undervalued; I say, as soon as He was made Commissioner of the Treasury, He thought himself obliged to take all the Pains He could to understand that Employment, and the Nature of the Revenue, and to find out all possible Ways for the Improvement thereof, and for the present Managery of the Expence. Many were of Opinion that He was the more solicitous in that Disquisition, and the more inquisitive into what had been done, that He might make some Discovery of past Actions, which might reflect upon the Memory of the late Treasurer, the Earl of *Portland*, and call his Wisdom and Integrity in Question, who had been so far from being his Friend, that He had always laboured to do him all the Mischief He could, and it was no small Grief of Heart to him, and much Occasion of his ill Humour, to find that the Archbishop had too much Credit with the King, to be shaken by him: and the Archbishop was not in his Affections behind hand with him, looking always upon him as a *Roman Catholick*, though He dissembled it by going to Church; and as the great Countenancer and Support of that Religion; all his Family being of that Profession, and very few resorting to it, or having any Credit with him but such. It is very true, the Archbishop had no great Regard for his Memory, or for his Friends, and was willing enough to make any Discovery of his Miscarriages, and to inform his Majesty of them, who

who He believed had too good an Opinion of him, and his Integrity.

THE Truth is, the Archbishop had laid down one Principle to himself, which He believed would much advance the King's Service, and was without Doubt very prudent; that the King's Duties being provided for, and chearfully paid, the Merchants should receive all the Countenance and Protection from the King that They could expect; and not be liable to the Vexation particular Men gave them for their private Advantage; being forward enough to receive Propositions which tended to the King's Profit, but careful that what accrued of Burthen to the Subject, should redound entirely to the Benefit of the Crown, and not enrich Projectors at the Charge of the People; and there is Reason to believe that if this Measure had been well observed, much of that Murmur had been prevented, which contributed to that Jealousy and Discontent which soon after brake out. This Vigilance and Inclination in the Archbishop, opened a Door to the Admission of any Merchants or others to him, who gave him Information of this Kind; and who being ready to pay any Thing to the King, desired only to be protected from private Oppressions. The Archbishop used to spend as much Time as He could get, at his Country House at *Croydon*, and then his Mind being unbent from Business, He delighted in the Conversation of his Neighbours, and treated them with great Urbanity.

THERE was a Merchant of the greatest Reputation (*Daniel Harvey*) who having a Country House within the Distance of a few Miles from *Croydon*, and understanding the whole Business of Trade more exactly than most Men, was always very welcome to the Archbishop, who used to ask him many Questions upon such Matters as He desired to be informed in; and received much Satisfaction from

Mr. Harvey's Complaint to the Archbishop of the Earl of Portland.

him. Upon an Accidental Discourse between them, ⁽¹²⁾ what Encouragement Merchants ought to receive, who brought a great Trade into the Kingdom, and paid thereupon great Sums of Money to the King, Mr. *Harvey* mentioned the Discouragements They had received in the late Times, by the Rigour of the Earl of *Portland*, in Matters that related Nothing to the King's Service, but to the Profit of private Men; and thereupon remembered a Particular, that, after the Dissolution of the Parliament in the fourth Year of the King, and the Combination amongst many Merchants to pay no more Customs or Impositions to the King, because They had not been granted in Parliament, which produced those Suits and Decrees in the Exchequer, which are generally understood, and a general Distraction in Trade; many Merchants of the greatest Wealth and Reputation resolved to continue the Trade; and in a short Time reduced it into so good Order, and by their Advice and Example disposed others to make a punctual Entry of their Goods, and to pay their Duties to the King, that the Trade seemed to be restored to the Nation, and the Customs to rise above the Value They had ever yielded to the Crown; which was no sooner brought to pass, than the Earl of *Portland* (who endeavoured to persuade the King that this great Work was entirely compassed by his Wisdom, Interest, and Dexterity) disoblighed the Merchants in a very sensible Degree, in requiring them to unlade their Ships at the Custom-House Quay, and at no other Quay or Wharf, upon Pretence that thereby the King would have his Customs well paid, of which otherwise He would be in Danger to be cozened; and alledged an Order that had been formerly made in the Court of the Exchequer, that fine Goods which were portable (as Silks and fine Linens) and might easily be stolen, should always be landed at the Custom-House

House Quay. The Merchants looked upon this Constraint and Restraint, as a great Oppression, and applied themselves to him for Reparation and Redress; They undertook to make it evident to him, that it was merely a Matter which concerned the private Benefit of the particular Wharfingers, and not in the least Degree the King's Profit; that the Custom-House Quay was of great Value to the Owner of it, who had a very great Rent for it, but that it yielded the King Nothing, nor would in fifty Years or thereabouts, there being a Lease yet to come for that Term; that the Mention of fine Goods, and the Order of the Exchequer, was not applicable to the Question; that They disputed not the landing of fine Goods, but that the Pretence was to compel them to bring their grossest, and their Merchandize of the greatest Bulk to that Quay, whereas They had been always free to ship or unship such Goods at what Wharf They would chuse for their Conveniences; there being the sworn Waiters of the Custom-House attending in the one, as well as the other; that the restraining them to one Wharf, and obliging all the Ships to be brought thither, must prove much to their Prejudice, and make them depend upon the good Will of the Wharfinger for their Dispatch; who in Truth, let his Desire be never so good, could not be able to perform the Service, without obliging them to wait very long, and thereby to lose their Markets. All this Discourse how reasonable soever, made no Impression upon the Treasurer, but He dismissed them with his usual Roughness, and reproached them that They desired all Occasions to cozen the King of his Customs; which They looked upon as an ill Reward for the Service They had done, and a great Discouragement to Trade. The Archbishop heard this Discourse with great Trouble, and Indignation, and being then interrupted by the coming of Per-

sons of Quality, told him, He would some other⁽¹³⁾ Time run over all these Particulars again, and that He should recollect himself for other Instances of that strange Nature.

THE next Time the Archbishop returned to *Croydon*, which He usually did once in the Week during the Summer, and staid a Day or two, impatient to understand more of the Matter, He sent for Mr. *Harvey*, and told him, "that his last Discourse had given him much Cause of Sorrow, in finding how the King had been used, and that He knew his Nature so well, that He could confidently say, that He never knew of that Kind of Proceeding, and that He wondered that the Merchants had not then petitioned the King, to hear the Matter himself." He answered, "that They had left no Way unattempted for their Ease, having no Fear of displeasing the Treasurer; that They had caused a Petition to be drawn by their Council, which was signed by all the principal Merchants in the City, wherein (to obviate the Calumny concerning refusing to pay, or stealing Customs) They declared, that They were all very willing to pay all Duties to his Majesty, and would never refuse the same (which was a Declaration, would have been much valued a Year or two before, and ought to have been so then) only desired to be left at Liberty to ship and land their Goods as They had been accustomed to; that They had given this Petition to a Secretary of State to present it to the King, who referred it to the Consideration of the Treasurer; and thereupon They pursued it no further, knowing how He stood resolved, and the Cause of it, which troubled them most, viz. that that Custom-House Quay did, though not in his own Name, in Truth belong to Sir *Abraham Dawes*, one of the Farmers of the Customs, and the only Favourite of the Lord Treasurer, all the other

"Farmers

"Farmers being offended with the Order, which
 "They saw would offend the Merchants." The
 Archbishop asked "where that Petition was; that
 "He thought it still of that Moment, that He
 "would be glad to see it." He answered, "He
 "knew not where it was; but He believed it to re-
 "main in the Hands of Mr. *Hyde*, who had drawn
 "it, and was of Council with the Merchants through-
 "out the whole Proceedings; and was so warm in
 "it, that He had exceedingly provoked the Lord
 "Treasurer, who would have ruined him if He
 "could." He asked who that Mr. *Hyde* was, and
 where He was; the other said, "He was a young
 "Lawyer of the *Middle Temple*, who was not afraid
 "of being of Council with them, when all Men of
 "Name durst not appear for them; and that He
 "was confident that He, having been always pre-
 "sent at all Debates, remembered many Circumstan-
 "ces in the Business which the other had forgotten;
 "that He was generally known; and had lately mar-
 "ried the Daughter of Sir *Thomas Aylebury*."

*Mr. Harvey
 mentions Mr.
 Hyde to the
 Archbishop.*

WITHIN a few Days after, the Archbishop meet-
 ing Sir *Thomas Aylebury* at Court, asked him whe-
 ther He had married his Daughter to one Mr. *Hyde*
 a Lawyer, and where He was; He answered, He
 had done so, and that He lived in his House, when
 He was not at his Chamber in the *Middle Temple*.
 The Archbishop desired him to send him to Him,
 for He heard well of him; and the next Morning
 He attended him, and found him walking alone in
 his Garden at *Lambeth*; He received him civilly ac-
 cording to his Manner, without much Ceremony;
 and presently asked him, whether He had not been
 of Council with some Merchants in such a Business,
 and where that Petition now was; He answered
 him, not knowing why He asked, "that He had
 "been about two Years past, of Council with some
 "Merchants about such an Affair, in which the Earl
 "of

*Mr. Hyde
 attends the
 Archbishop.*

"of *Portland* had been much incensed against him,⁽¹⁴⁾
 "that He remembered He had drawn such a Peti-
 "tion, which was signed by all the considerable
 "Merchants of *London*, but that there was little
 "Progress made thereupon, by Reason of the Af-
 "perity of the Treasurer." He asked still for the
 "Petition thas was so signed; He told him, He
 "thought He had it himself, if He had it not, He
 "was confident He could find who had it: He desi-
 "red him, that He would find it out, and bring it to
 "Him, and any other Papers concerning that Affair,
 "or the Business of the Customs. He said, "the
 "King had, contrary to his Desire, made him one
 "of the Commissioners of the Treasury; that He
 "understood Nothing of that Province, but was
 "willing to take any Pains which might enable him
 "to do his Master Service, which made him inqui-
 "sitive into the Customs, the principal Branch of
 "the Revenue; that his Neighbour *Daniel Harvey*
 "had spoken much Good of him to Him; and in-
 "formed him of that Complaint of the Merchants,
 "which He thought had much Reason in it, but it
 "was like other Acts of the Earl of *Portland*; that
 "He would be willing to receive any Information
 "from him, and that He should be welcome when
 "He came to him." He told him, in short (which
 "He heard would please him best) two or three Pas-
 "sages that happened in that Transaction; and some
 "haughty Expressions which fell from the Treasurer,
 "when upon his urging that the Farmers would not
 "hold their Farm, if He did not strictly hold the
 "Merchants to Custom-House Quay; He told him,
 "that if the Farmers were weary of their Bargain,
 "He would help the King to forty thousand Pounds
 "a Year above the Rent They paid, and that They
 "should be paid all the Money They had advanced
 "within one Week;" upon which the Earl indeed
 "had let himself out into an indecent Rage, using
 many

many Threats to him; which He found was not ingrateful to the Archbishop, upon whom He attended within a Day or two again, and delivered him the Petition, and many other useful Papers, which pleased him abundantly; and He required him so see him often.

By this Accident Mr. *Hyde* came first to be known to the Archbishop, who ever afterwards used him very kindly, and spoke well of him upon all Occasions, and took particular Notice of him when He came of Council in any Causes depending at the Council Board, as He did frequently; and desired his Service in many Occasions, and particularly in the raising Monies for the building *St. Paul's Church*, in which He made a Journey or two into *Wiltshire* with good Success; which the Archbishop still acknowledged, in a more obliging Way than He was accustomed to; infomuch as it was so much taken Notice of, that Mr. *Hyde* (who well knew how to cultivate those Advantages) was used with more Countenance by all the Judges in *Westminster Hall*, and the eminent Practisers, than was usually given to Men of his Years; so that He grew every Day in Practice, of which He had as much as He desired, and having a competent Estate of his own, He enjoyed a very pleasant, and a plentiful Life, living much above the Rank of those Lawyers, whose Business was only to be rich; and was generally beloved and esteemed by most Persons of Condition and great Reputation. Though He pursued his Profession with great Diligence and Intentness of Mind, and upon the Matter wholly betook himself to Business, yet He made not himself a Slave to it; but kept both his Friends at Court, and about the Town, by his frequent Application and constant Conversation; in Order to which, He always gave himself at Dinner to those who used to meet together at that Hour, and in such Places as was mutually

Mr. Hyde receives Encouragement in his Profession.

His Method of spending his Time.

mually agreed between them; where They enjoyed⁽¹⁵⁾ themselves with great Delight, and publick Reputation, for the Innocence, and Sharpness, and Learning of their Conversation. For He would never suffer himself to be deprived of some Hours (which commonly He borrowed from the Night) to refresh himself with polite Learning, in which He still made some Progress. The Afternoons He entirely dedicated to the Business of his Profession, taking Instructions and the like; and very rarely supped, except He was called out by some of his Friends, who spared him the more, because He always complied with those Summons; otherwise He never supped for many Years (before the Troubles brought in that Custom) both for the gaining that Time for himself, and that He might rise early in the Morning according to his Custom, and which He would say, He could never do when He supped. The Vacations He gave wholly to his Study and Conversation, never going out of *London* in those Seasons, except for two Months in the Summer, which He spent at his own House in the Country, with great Chearfulness amongst his Friends, who then resorted to him in good Numbers.

He never did ride any Country Circuits with the Judges, which He often repented afterwards, saying, that besides the knowing the Gentry, and People, and Manners of *England* (which is best attained that Way) there is a very good and necessary Part of the Learning in the Law, which is not so easily got any other Way, as in riding those Circuits; which as it seems to have much of Drudgery, so is accompanied with much Pleasure, and Profit; and it may be, the long Lives of Men of that Profession (for the Lawyers usually live to more Years than any other Profession) may very reasonably be imputed to the Exercise They give themselves by their Circuits, as well as to their other Acts of Temperance

perance and Sobriety. And as He had denied himself that Satisfaction purely to have that Time to himself for other Delight, so He did resolve, if the Confusion of the Time had not surprized him, for three or four Years (longer He did not intend) to have improved himself by the Experience of those Journeys.

HE was often heard to say, that, "next the immediate Blessing and Providence of God Almighty, which had preserved him throughout the whole Course of his Life (less strict than it ought to have been) from many Dangers and Disadvantages, in which many other young Men were lost; He owed all the little He knew, and the little Good that was in him, to the Friendships and Conversation He had still been used to, of the most excellent Men in their several Kinds that lived in that Age; by whose Learning, and Information, and Instruction, He formed his Studies, and mended his Understanding; and by whose Gentleness and Sweetness of Behaviour, and Justice, and Virtue, and Example, He formed his Manners, subdued that Pride, and suppressed that Heat and Passion, He was naturally inclined to be transported with." And He never took more Pleasure in any Thing, than in frequently mentioning and naming those Persons, who were then his Friends, or of his most familiar Conversation; and in remembering their particular Virtues and Faculties; and used often to say, "that He never was so proud, or thought himself so good a Man, as when He was the worst Man in the Company;" all his Friends and Companions being in their Quality, in their Fortunes, at least in their Faculties and Endowments of Mind, very much his superiors: and He always charged his Children to follow his Example in that Point, in making their Friendships and Conversation; protesting, that in the whole Course of his Life, He never

ver knew one Man, of what Condition soever, arrive to any Degree of Reputation in the World, who made Choice or delighted in the Company or Conversation of those, who in their Qualities were inferior, or in their Parts not much superior to himself.

Some Account
of his chief
Acquaintance
whilst only a
Student of the
Law.

WHILST He was only a Student of the Law, and stood at Gaze, and irresolute what Course of Life to take, his chief Acquaintance were *Ben. Johnson*, *John Selden*, *Charles Cotton*, *John Vaughan*, Sir *Kenelm Digby*, *Thomas May*, and *Thomas Carew*, and some others of eminent Faculties in their several Ways. *Ben. Johnson's* Name can never be forgotten, having by his very good Learning, and the Severity of his Nature and Manners, very much reformed the Stage; and indeed the *English* Poetry itself. His natural Advantages were, Judgment to order and govern Fancy, rather than Excess of Fancy, his Productions being slow and upon Deliberation, yet then abounding with great Wit and Fancy, and will live accordingly; and surely as He did exceedingly exalt the *English* Language in Eloquence, Propriety, and masculine Expressions; so He was the best Judge of, and fittest to prescribe Rules to Poetry and Poets, of any Man who had lived with, or before him, or since: If *Mr. Cowley* had not made a Flight beyond all Men, with that Modesty yet, to ascribe much of this, to the Example and Learning of *Ben. Johnson*. His Conversation was very good, and with the Men of most Note; and He had for many Years an extraordinary Kindness for *Mr. Hyde*, till He found He betook himself to Business, which He believed ought never to be preferred before his Company. He lived to be very old, and till the Palsy made a deep Impression upon his Body, and his Mind.

Of *Mr. Selden*.

Mr. SELDEN was a Person, whom no Character can flatter, or transmit in any Expressions equal to his Merit and Virtue. He was of so stupendous Learning

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Learning in all Kinds, and in all Languages (as may appear in his excellent and transcendent Writings) that a Man would have thought he had been entirely conversant amongst Books, and had never spent an Hour but in Reading and Writing; yet his Humanity, Courtesy, and Affability was such, that He would have been thought to have been bred in the best Courts, but that his good Nature, Charity, and Delight in doing good, and in communicating all He knew, exceeded that Breeding. His Stile in all his Writings seems harsh and sometimes obscure; which is not wholly to be imputed to the abstruse Subjects of which He commonly treated, out of the Paths trod by other Men; but to a little undervaluing the Beauty of a Stile, and too much Propensity to the Language of Antiquity; but in his Conversation He was the most clear Discourser, and had the best Faculty in making hard Things easy, and presenting them to the Understanding, of any Man that hath been known. Mr. Hyde was wont to say, that He valued himself upon nothing more than upon having had Mr. Selden's Acquaintance from the Time He was very young; and held it with great Delight as long as They were suffered to continue together in *London*; and He was very much troubled always when He heard him blamed, censured, and reproached, for staying in *London*, and in the Parliament, after They were in Rebellion, and in the worst Times, which his Age obliged him to do; and how wicked soever the Actions were, which were every Day done, He was confident He had not given his Consent to them; but would have hindered them if He could, with his own Safety, to which He was always enough indulgent. If He had some Infirmities with other Men, They were weighed down with wonderful and prodigious Abilities and Excellencies in the other Scale.

of Mr. Cotton.

CHARLES COTTON was a Gentleman born to a competent Fortune, and so qualified in his Person, and Education, that for many Years He continued the greatest Ornament of the Town, in the Esteem of those who had been best bred. His natural Parts were very great, his Wit flowing in all the Parts of Conversation; the Superstructure of Learning not raised to a considerable Height; but having passed some Years in *Cambridge*, and then in *France*, and conversing always with learned Men, his Expressions were ever proper, and significant, and gave great Lustre to his Discourse, upon any Argument; so that He was thought by those who were not intimate with him, to have been much better acquainted with Books than He was. He had all those Qualities which in Youth raise Men to the Reputation of being fine Gentlemen; such a Pleasantness and Gaiety of Humour, such a Sweetness and Gentleness of Nature, and such a Civility and Delightfulness in Conversation, that no Man in the Court, or out of it, appeared a more accomplished Person; all these extraordinary Qualifications being supported by as extraordinary a Clearness of Courage, and Fearlessness of Spirit, of which He gave too often Manifestation. Some unhappy Suits in Law, and Waste of his Fortune in those Suits, made some Impression upon his Mind; which being improved by domestick Afflictions, and those Indulgences to himself, which naturally attend those Afflictions, rendered his Age less revered, than his Youth had been; and gave his best Friends Cause to have wished, that He had not lived so long.

Of Mr. Vaughan.

JOHN VAUGHAN was then a Student of the Law in the *Inner Temple*, but at that Time indulged more to the politer Learning; and was in Truth a Man of great Parts of Nature, and very well adorned by Arts and Books; and so much cherished by Mr. *Selden*, that He grew to be of entire Trust and Friendship

ship with him, and to that owed the best Part of his Reputation; for He was of so magisterial and supercilious a Humour, so proud and insolent a Behaviour, that all Mr. *Selden's* Instructions, and Authority, and Example, could not file off that Roughness of his Nature, so as to make him very grateful. He looked most into those Parts of the Law, which disposed him to least Reverence to the Crown, and most, to popular Authority; yet without Inclination to any Change in Government; and therefore, before the Beginning of the Civil War, and when He clearly discerned the Approaches to it in Parliament (of which He was a Member) He withdrew himself into the Fastnesses of his own Country, *North Wales*, where He enjoyed a secure, and as near an innocent Life, as the Iniquity of that Time would permit; and upon the Return of King *Charles the Second*, He appeared under the Character of a Man, who had preserved his Loyalty entire, and was esteemed accordingly by all that Party.

His Friend Mr. *Hyde*, who was then become Lord High Chancellor of *England*, renewed his old Kindness and Friendship towards him, and was desirous to gratify him all the Ways He could, and earnestly pressed him to put on his Gown again, and take upon him the Office of a Judge; but He excused himself upon his long Discontinuance (having not worn his Gown, and wholly discontinued the Profession from the Year 1640, full twenty Years) and upon his Age, and expressly refused to receive any Promotion; but continued all the Professions of Respect and Gratitude imaginable to the Chancellor, till it was in his Power to manifest the contrary, to his Prejudice, which He did with Circumstances very uncommendable.

(18) SIR *Kenelm Digby* was a Person very eminent and notorious throughout the whole Course of his Life, from his Cradle to his Grave; of an ancient Family

of Sir *Kenelm Digby*.

ly and noble Extraction; and inherited a fair and plentiful Fortune, notwithstanding the Attainder of his Father. He was a Man of a very extraordinary Person and Presence, which drew the Eyes of all Men upon him, which were more fixed by a wonderful graceful Behaviour, a flowing Courtesy and Civility, and such a Volubility of Language, as surprized, and delighted; and though in another Man it might have appeared to have somewhat of Affectation, it was marvellous graceful in him, and seemed natural to his Size, and Mould of his Person, to the Gravity of his Motion, and the Tune of his Voice and Delivery. He had a fair Reputation in Arms, of which He gave an early Testimony in his Youth, in some Encounters in *Spain*, and *Italy*, and afterwards in an Action in the *Mediterranean Sea*, where He had the Command of a Squadron of Ships of War, set out at his own Charge under the King's Commission; with which, upon an Injury received, or apprehended from the *Venetians*, He encountered their whole Fleet, killed many of their Men, and sunk one of their Galeasses; which in that drowsy and unactive Time, was looked upon with a general Estimation, though the Crown disavowed it. In a Word, He had all the Advantages that Nature, and Art, and an excellent Education could give him; which, with a great Confidence and Presentness of Mind, buoyed him up against all those Prejudices, and Disadvantages, (as the Attainder, and Execution of his Father, for a Crime of the highest Nature; his own Marriage with a Lady, though of an extraordinary Beauty, of as extraordinary a Fame; his changing, and re-changing his Religion; and some personal Vices, and Licences in his Life) which would have suppressed and sunk any other Man, but never clouded or eclipsed him, from appearing in the best Places, and the best Company, and with the best Estimation and Satisfaction.

THOMAS MAY was the eldest Son of his Father, *of Mr. May.* a Knight, and born to a Fortune, if his Father had not spent it; so that He had only an Annuity left him, not proportionable to a liberal Education; yet since his Fortune could not raise his Mind, He brought his Mind down to his Fortune, by a great Modesty and Humility in his Nature, which was not affected, but very well became an Imperfection in his Speech, which was a great Mortification to him, and kept him from entering upon any Discourse but in the Company of his very Friends. His Parts of Nature, and Art were very good, as appears by his Translation of *Lucan* (none of the easiest Work of that Kind) and more by his Supplement to *Lucan*, which being entirely his own, for the Learning, the Wit, and the Language, may be well looked upon as one of the best Epic Poems in the *English* Language. He writ some other commendable Pieces, of the Reign of some of our Kings. He was cherished by many Persons of Honour, and very acceptable in all Places; yet (to shew that Pride and Envy have their Influences upon the narrowest Minds, and which have the greatest Semblance of Humility) though He had received much Countenance, and a very considerable Donative from the King; upon his Majesty's refusing to give him a small Pension, which He had designed and promised to another very ingenious Person, whose Qualities He thought inferior to his own; He fell from his Duty, and all his former Friends; and prostituted himself to the vile Office of celebrating the infamous Acts of those who were in Rebellion against the King; which He did so meanly, that He seemed to all Men to have lost his (19) Wits, when He left his Honesty; and so shortly after, died miserable and neglected; and deserves to be forgotten.

Of Mr. Carew.

THOMAS CAREW was a younger Brother of a good Family, and of excellent Parts, and had spent many Years of his Youth in *France* and *Italy*; and returning from Travel, followed the Court; which the Modesty of that Time disposed Men to do some Time, before They pretended to be of it; and He was very much esteemed by the most eminent Persons in the Court, and well looked upon by the King himself, some Years before He could obtain to be Sewer to the King; and when the King conferred that Place upon him, it was not without the Regret even of the whole *Scotch* Nation, which united themselves in recommending another Gentleman to it; of so great Value were those Relations held in that Age, when Majesty was beheld with the Reverence it ought to be. He was a Person of a pleasant and facetious Wit, and made many Poems (especially in the amorous Way) which for the Sharpness of the Fancy, and the Elegancy of the Language, in which that Fancy was spread, were at least equal, if not superior to any of that Time: But his Glory was, that after fifty Years of his Life, spent with less Severity or Exactness than it ought to have been, He died with the greatest Remorse for that Licence, and with the greatest Manifestation of Christianity, that his best Friends could desire.

AMONG these Persons Mr. *Hyde's* usual Time of Conversation was spent, till He grew more retired to his more serious Studies, and never discontinued his Acquaintance with any of them, though He spent less Time in their Company; only upon Mr. *Selden* He looked with so much Affection, and Reverence, that He always thought himself best, when He was with him: but He had then another Conjunction and Communication, that He took so much Delight in, that He embraced it in the Time of his greatest Business and Practice, and would suffer no other

other Pretence, or Obligation to withdraw him from that Familiarity and Friendship; and took frequent Occasions to mention their Names with great Pleasure; being often heard to say, "that if He had any Thing good in him, in his Humour, or in his Manners, He owed it to the Example, and the Information He had received in, and from that Company, with most of whom He had an entire Friendship." And They were in Truth, in their Qualifications, Men of more than ordinary Eminence, before They attained the great Preferments many of them lived to enjoy. The Persons were, Sir *Lucius Carey*, eldest Son to the Lord Viscount *Falkland*, Lord Deputy of *Ireland*; Sir *Francis Wenman* of *Oxfordshire*; *Sidney Godolphin* of *Godolphin* in *Cornwall*; *Edmund Waller* of *Beaconsfield*; Dr. *Gilbert Sheldon*; Dr. *George Morley*; Dr. *John Earles*; Mr. *John Hales* of *Eton*; and Mr. *William Chillingworth*.

*Characters of
Mr. Hyde's
more intimate
Friends.*

WITH Sir *Lucius Carey* He had a most entire Friendship without Reserve, from his Age of twenty Years, to the Hour of his Death, near twenty Years after; upon which there will be Occasion to enlarge when We come to speak of that Time, and often before, and therefore we shall say no more of him in this Place, than to shew his Condition, and Qualifications, which were the first Ingredients into that Friendship, which was afterwards cultivated, and improved by a constant Conversation and Familiarity, and by many Accidents which contributed thereto. He had the Advantage of a noble Extraction, and of being born his Father's eldest Son, when there was a greater Fortune in Prospect to be inherited (besides what He might reasonably expect by his Mother) than came afterwards to his Possession. His Education was equal to his Birth, at least in the Care, if not in the Climate; for his Father being Deputy of *Ireland*, before He was of Age fit

*Of Sir Lucius
Carey.*

to be sent abroad, his Breeding was in the Court, and in the University of *Dublin*; but under the Care, Vigilance, and Direction of such Governors and Tutors, that He learned all those Exercises and Languages, better than most Men do in more celebrated Places; insomuch as when He came into *England*, which was when He was about the Age of eighteen Years, He was not only Master of the *Latin* Tongue, and had read all the Poets, and other of the best Authors with notable Judgment for that Age, but He understood, and spake, and writ *French*, as if He had spent many Years in *France*.

HE had another Advantage, which was a great Ornament to the rest, that was, a good, a plentiful Estate, of which He had the early Possession. His Mother was the sole Daughter and Heir of the Lord Chief Baron *Tanfield*, who having given a fair Portion with his Daughter in Marriage, had kept himself free to dispose of his Land, and his other Estate, in such Manner as He should think fit; and He settled it in such Manner upon his Grandson Sir *Lucius Carey*, without taking Notice of his Father, or Mother, that upon his Grandmother's Death, which fell out about the Time that He was nineteen Years of Age, all the Land, with two very good Houses very well furnished (worth above £2000 *per Annum*) in a most pleasant Country, and the two most pleasant Places in that Country, with a very plentiful personal Estate, fell into his Hands and Possession, and to his entire Disposol.

WITH these Advantages, He had one great Disadvantage (which in the first Entrance into the World is attended with too much Prejudice) in his Person and Presence, which was in no Degree attractive or promising. His Stature was low, and smaller than most Men; his Motion not graceful; and his Aspect so far from inviting, that it had some-

somewhat in it of Simplicity; and his Voice the worst of the three, and so untuned, that instead of reconciling, it offended the Ear, so that no Body would have expected Musick from that Tongue; and sure no Man was less beholden to Nature for it's Recommendation into the World: but then no Man sooner, or more disappointed this general and customary Prejudice; that little Person and small Stature was quickly found to contain a great Heart, a Courage so keen, and a Nature so fearless, that no Composition of the strongest Limbs, and most harmonious and proportioned Presence and Strength, ever more disposed any Man to the greatest Enterprize; it being his greatest Weakness to be too solicitous for such Adventures: and that untuned Tongue and Voice, easily discovered itself to be supplied, and governed, by a Mind and Understanding so excellent, that the Wit and Weight of all He said, carried another Kind of Lustre, and Admiration in it, and even another Kind of Acceptation from the Persons present, than any Ornament of Delivery could reasonably promise itself, or is usually attended with; and his Disposition and Nature was so gentle and obliging, so much delighted in Courtesy, Kindness, and Generosity, that all Mankind could not but admire, and love him.

IN a short Time after He had Possession of the Estate his Grandfather had left him, and before He was of Age, He committed a Fault against his Father, in marrying a young Lady, whom He passionately loved, without any considerable Portion, which exceedingly offended him; and disappointed all his reasonable Hopes and Expectation, of redeeming and repairing his own broken Fortune, (21) and desperate Hopes in Court, by some advantageous Marriage of his Son; about which he had then some probable Treaty. Sir *Lucius Carey* was very conscious to himself of his Offence and Transgression,

sion, and the Consequence of it, which though He could not repent, having married a Lady of a most extraordinary Wit, and Judgment, and of the most signal Virtue, and exemplary Life, that the Age produced, and who brought him many hopeful Children, in which He took great Delight; yet He confessed it, with the most sincere and dutiful Applications to his Father for his Pardon that could be made; and for the Prejudice He had brought upon his Fortune, by bringing no Portion to him, He offered to repair it, by resigning his whole Estate to his Disposal, and to rely wholly upon his Kindness for his own Maintenance and Support; and to that Purpose, He had caused Conveyances to be drawn by Council, which He brought ready engrossed to his Father, and was willing to seal, and execute them, that They might be valid; but his Father's Passion and Indignation so far transported him (though He was a Gentleman of excellent Parts) that He refused any Reconciliation, and rejected all the Offers that were made him of the Estate; so that his Son remained still in the Possession of his Estate against his Will; for which He found great Reason afterwards to rejoice; but He was for the present, so much afflicted with his Father's Displeasure, that He transported himself and his Wife into *Holland*, resolving to buy some military Command, and to spend the Remainder of his Life in that Profession: but being disappointed in the Treaty He expected; and finding no Opportunity to accommodate himself with such a Command, He returned again into *England*; resolving to retire to a Country Life, and to his Books; that since He was not like to improve himself in Arms, He might advance in Letters.

IN this Resolution He was so severe (as He was always naturally very intent upon what He was inclined to) that He declared, He would not see *London*

don in many Years, which was the Place He loved of all the World; and that in his Studies, He would first apply himself to the *Greek*, and pursue it without Intermission, till He should attain to the full Understanding of that Tongue: and it is hardly to be credited, what Industry He used, and what Success attended that Industry: for though his Father's Death, by an unhappy Accident, made his Repair to *London* absolutely necessary, in fewer Years, than He had proposed for his Absence; yet He had first made himself Master of the *Greek* Tongue (in the *Latin* He was very well versed before) and had read not only the *Greek* Historians, but *Homer* likewise, and such of the Poets as were worthy to be perused.

THOUGH his Father's Death brought no other Convenience to him, but a Title to redeem an Estate, mortgaged for as much as it was worth, and for which He was compelled to sell a finer Seat of his own; yet it imposed a Burthen upon him, of the Title of a Viscount, and an Increase of Expence, in which He was not in his Nature too provident, or restrained; having naturally such a Generosity and Bounty in him, that He seemed to have his Estate in Trust, for all worthy Persons, who stood in Want of Supplies and Encouragement, as *Ben. Johnson*, and many others of that Time, whose Fortunes required, and whose Spirits made them superior to, ordinary Obligations; which yet They were contented to receive from Him, because his Bounties were so generously distributed, and so much without Vanity and Ostentation, that except from those few Persons, from whom He sometimes received the Characters of fit Objects for his Benefits, or whom He intrusted, for the more secret deriving (22) them to them, He did all He could, that the Persons themselves who received them, should not know from what Fountain They flowed; and when that could not be concealed, He sustained any Acknowledgment

ledgment from the Persons obliged, with so much Trouble, and Bashfulness, that They might well perceive, that He was even ashamed of the little He had given, and to receive so large a Recompence for it.

As soon as He had finished all those Transactions, which the Death of his Father had made necessary to be done, He retired again to his Country Life, and to his severe Course of Study, which was very delightful to him, as soon as He was engaged in it: but He was wont to say, that He never found Reluctancy in any Thing He resolved to do, but in his quitting *London*, and departing from the Conversation of those He enjoyed there; which was in some Degree preserved, and continued by frequent Letters, and often Visits, which were made by his Friends from thence, whilst He continued wedded to the Country; and which were so grateful to him, that during their Stay with him, He looked upon no Book, except their very Conversation made an Appeal to some Book; and truly his whole Conversation was one continued *Convivium Philosophicum*, or *Convivium Theologicum*, enlivened, and refreshed with all the Facetiousness of Wit, and Good-Humour, and Pleasantness of Discourse, which made the Gravity of the Argument itself (whatever it was) very delectable. His House where He usually resided (*Tew*, or *Burford* in *Oxfordshire*) being within ten or twelve Miles of the University, looked like the University itself, by the Company that was always found there. There were Dr. *Sheldon*, Dr. *Morley*, Dr. *Hammond*, Dr. *Earles*, Mr. *Chillingworth*, and indeed all Men of eminent Parts and Faculties in *Oxford*, besides those who resorted thither from *London*; who all found their Lodgings there, as ready as in the Colleges, nor did the Lord of the House know of their coming, or going, nor who were in his House, till He came to Dinner, or Supper, where

where all still met; otherwise, there was no troublesome Ceremony, or Constraint to forbid Men to come to the House, or to make them weary of staying there; so that many came thither to study in a better Air, finding all the Books They could desire, in his Library, and all the Persons together, whose Company They could wish, and not find, in any other Society. Here Mr. *Chillingworth* wrote, and formed, and modelled his excellent Book against the learned Jesuit Mr. *Nott*, after frequent Debates upon the most important Particulars; in many of which, He suffered himself to be over-ruled by the Judgment of his Friends, though in others He still adhered to his own Fancy, which was sceptical enough, even in the highest Points.

In this happy and delightful Conversation, and Restraint, He remained in the Country many Years; and until He had made so prodigious a Progress in Learning, that there were very few classick Authors in the *Greek*, or *Latin* Tongue, that He had not read with great Exactness. He had read all the *Greek*, and *Latin* Fathers; all the most allowed and authentick ecclesiastical Writers; and all the Councils, with wonderful Care, and Observation; for in Religion He thought too careful, and too curious an Enquiry could not be made, amongst those, whose Purity was not questioned, and whose Authority was constantly, and confidently urged, by Men who were furthest from being of one Mind amongst themselves; and for the mutual Support of their several Opinions, in which They most contradicted each other; and in all those Controversies, He had so dispassioned a Consideration, such a Candour in his Nature, and so profound a Charity in (23) his Conscience, that in those Points, in which He was in his own Judgment most clear, He never thought the worse, or in any Degree declined the Familiarity, of those who were of another Mind; which,

which, without Question, is an excellent Temper for the Propagation, and Advancement of Christianity. With these great Advantages of Industry, He had a Memory retentive of all that He had ever read, and an Understanding and Judgment to apply it seasonably and appositely, with the most Dexterity and Address, and the least Pedantry and Affectation, that ever Man, who knew so much, was possessed with, of what Quality soever. It is not a trivial Evidence of his Learning, his Wit, and his Candour, that may be found in that Discourse of his, against the Infallibility of the Church of *Rome*, published since his Death, and from a Copy under his own Hand, though not prepared and digested by him for the Press, and to which He would have given some Castigations.

BUT all his Parts, Abilities, and Faculties, by Art and Industry, were not to be valued, or mentioned, in Comparison of his most accomplished Mind and Manners: his Gentleness, and Affability was so transcendent, and obliging, that it drew Reverence, and some Kind of Compliance from the roughest, and most unpolished, and stubborn Constitutions; and made them of another Temper in Debate, in his Presence, than They were in other Places. He was in his Nature so severe a Lover of Justice, and so precise a Lover of Truth, that He was superior to all possible Temptations for the Violation of either; indeed so rigid an Exacter of Perfection, in all those Things which seemed but to border upon either of them, and by the common Practice of Men were not thought to border upon either, that many who knew him very well, and loved, and admired his Virtue (as all who did know him must love, and admire it) did believe, that He was of a Temper and Composition, fitter to live in *Republicâ Platonis*, than in *Fœce Romuli*: but this Rigidness was only exercised towards himself; to-
wards

wards his Friend's Infirmities no Man was more indulgent. In his Conversation, which was the most chearful and pleasant that can be imagined, though He was young (for all I have yet spoken of him doth not exceed his Age of twenty-five or twenty-six Years) and of great Gaiety in his Humour, with a flowing Delightfulness of Language, He had so chaste a Tongue, and Ear, that there was never known a profane, or loose Word to fall from him, nor in Truth in his Company; the Integrity, and Cleanliness of the Wit of that Time, not exercising itself in that Licence, before Persons for whom They had any Esteem.

SIR *Francis Wenman* would not look upon him-^{Of Sir Francis Wenman.} self under any other Character, than that of a Country Gentleman; though no Man of his Quality in *England* was more esteemed in Court. He was of a noble Extraction, and of an ancient Family in *Oxfordshire*, where He was possessed of a competent Estate; but his Reputation of Wisdom, and Integrity, gave him an Interest and Credit in that Country, much above his Fortune; and no Man had more Esteem in it, or Power over it. He was a Neighbour to the Lord *Falkland*, and in so entire Friendship and Confidence with him, that He had great Authority in the Society of all his Friends, and Acquaintance. He was a Man of great Sharpness of Understanding, and of a piercing Judgment; no Man better understood the Affections and Temper of the Kingdom, or indeed the Nature of the Nation, or discerned farther the Consequence of Counsels, and with what Success They were like to be attended. He was a very good *Latin* Scholar, but his Ratiocination was above his Learning; (24) and the Sharpness of his Wit incomparable. He was equal to the greatest Trust and Employment, if He had been ambitious of it, or solicitous for it; but his Want of Health produced a Kind of Laziness

ness of Mind, which disinclined him to Business, and He died a little before the general Troubles of the Kingdom, which He foresaw with wonderful Concern, and when many wise Men were weary of living so long.

Of Mr. Sidney Godolphin.

SIDNEY GODOLPHIN was a younger Brother of *Godolphin*, but by the Provision left by his Father, and by the Death of a younger Brother, liberally supplied for a very good Education, and for a cheerful Subsistence, in any Course of Life He proposed to himself. There was never so great a Mind and Spirit contained in so little Room; so large an Understanding, and so unrestrained a Fancy, in so very small a Body; so that the Lord *Falkland* used to say merrily, that He thought it was a great Ingredient into his Friendship for Mr. *Godolphin*, that He was pleased to be found in his Company, where He was the properer Man; and it may be, the very Remarkableness of his little Person, made the Sharpness of his Wit, and the composed Quickness of his Judgment and Understanding, the more notable. He had spent some Years in *France*, and in the low Countries; and accompanied the Earl of *Leicester* in his Ambassage into *Denmark*, before He resolved to be quiet, and attend some Promotion in the Court; where his excellent Disposition and Manners, and extraordinary Qualifications, made him very acceptable. Though every Body loved his Company very well, yet He loved very much to be alone, being in his Constitution inclined somewhat to Melancholy, and to Retirement amongst his Books; and was so far from being active, that He was contented to be reproached by his Friends with Laziness; and was of so nice and tender a Composition, that a little Rain or Wind would disorder him, and divert him from any short Journey, He had most willingly proposed to himself; insomuch, as when He rid abroad with those in whose Company

Part I. EDWARD *Earl of CLARENDON*.

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pany He most delighted, if the Wind chanced to be in his Face, he would (after a little pleasant murmuring) suddenly turn his Horse, and go Home. Yet the Civil War no sooner began (the first Approaches towards which He discovered as soon as any Man, by the Proceedings in Parliament, where He was a Member, and opposed with great Indignation) than He put himself into the first Troops which were raised in the West for the King; and bore the Uneasiness and Fatigue of Winter Marches, with an exemplar Courage and Alacrity; until by too brave a Pursuit of the Enemy, into an obscure Village in *Devonshire*, He was shot with a Musket; with which (without saying any Word more, than, Oh God, I am hurt) He fell dead from his Horse; to the excessive Grief of his Friends, who were all that knew him; and the irreparable Damage of the Publick.

EDMUND WALLER was born to a very fair Estate, by the Parsimony, or Frugality, of a wise Father and Mother; and He thought it so commendable an Advantage, that He resolved to improve it with his utmost Care, upon which in his Nature He was too much intent; and in Order to that, He was so much reserved and retired, that He was scarce ever heard of, till by his Address and Dexterity He had gotten a very rich Wife in the City, against all the Recommendation, and Countenance, and Authority of the Court, which was thoroughly engaged on the Behalf of Mr. *Crofts*; and which used to be successful in that Age, against any Opposition. He had the good Fortune to have an Alliance and Friendship with Dr. *Merley*, who had assisted, and instructed him in the reading many good Books, to which his natural Parts and Promptitude (25) inclined him; especially the Poets; and at the Age when other Men used to give over writing Verses (for He was near thirty Years of Age, when He first

Of Mr. Edmund Waller.

first engaged himself in that Exercise, at least, that He was known to do so) He surprized the Town with two or three Pieces of that Kind; as if a tenth Muse had been newly born, to cherish drooping Poetry. The Doctor at that Time brought him in to that Company, which was most celebrated for good Conversation; where He was received, and esteemed, with great Applause, and Respect. He was a very pleasant Discourser, in Earnest, and in Jest, and therefore very grateful to all Kind of Company, where He was not the less esteemed for being very rich.

He had been even nursed in Parliaments, where He sate when He was very young; and so when They were resumed again (after a long Intermision) He appeared in those Assemblies with great Advantage; having a graceful Way of speaking, and by thinking much upon several Arguments (which his Temper and Complexion, that had much of Melancholick, inclined him to) He seemed often to speak upon the sudden, when the Occasion had only administred the Opportunity of saying, what He had thoroughly considered; which gave a great Lustre to all He said; which yet was rather of Delight, than Weight. There needs no more be said to extol the Excellence and Power of his Wit, and Pleasantness of his Conversation, than that it was of Magnitude enough, to cover a World of very great Faults; that is, so to cover them, that They were not taken Notice of to his Reproach; viz. a Narrowness in his Nature to the lowest Degree; an Abjectness, and Want of Courage to support him in any virtuous Undertaking; an Insinuation, and servile Flattery to the Height, the vainest, and most imperious Nature could be contented with; that it preserved and won his Life from those, who were most resolved to take it; and in an Occasion in which He ought to have been ambitious to have
lost

lost it; and then preserved him again, from the Reproach and Contempt that was due to him, for so preserving it, and for vindicating it at such a Price; that it had Power to reconcile him to those, whom He had most offended and provoked; and continued to his Age with that rare Felicity, that his Company was acceptable, where his Spirit was odious; and He was at least pitied, where He was most detested.

OF Doctor *Sheldon* there needs no more be said ^{Of Dr. Sheldon.} in this Place, than that his Learning, and Gravity, and Prudence, had in that Time raised him to such a Reputation, when He was Chaplain in the House to the Lord Keeper *Coventry* (who exceedingly esteemed him, and used his Service not only in all Matters relating to the Church, but in many other Busineses of Importance, and in which that great, and good Lord was nearly concerned) and when He was afterwards Warden of *All Souls* College in *Oxford*, that He then was looked upon, as very equal to any Preferment the Church could yield, or hath since yielded unto him; and Sir *Francis Wenman* would often say, when the Doctor resorted to the Conversation at the Lord *Falkland's* House, as He frequently did, that "Dr. *Sheldon* was born, and "bred to be Archbishop of *Canterbury*."

DOCTOR *Morley* was a Gentleman of very eminent Parts in all polite Learning; of great Wit, ^{Of Dr. Morley.} and Readiness, and Subtilty in Disputation; and of remarkable Temper, and Prudence in Conversation, which rendered him most grateful in all the best Company. He was then Chaplain in the House, and to the Family, of the Lord and Lady *Carnarvon*, which needed a wise, and a wary Director. From some academick Contests He had been engaged in, during his living in *Christ Church* in *Oxford*, (26) where He was always of the first Eminency, He had by the natural Faction and Animosity of those

Disputes, fallen under the Reproach of holding some Opinions, which were not then grateful to those Churchmen, who had the greatest Power in ecclesiastical Promotions; and some sharp Answers and Replies, He used to make in accidental Discourses, and which in Truth were made for Mirth and Pleasantness sake (as He was of the highest Facetiousness) were reported, and spread abroad to his Prejudice; as being once asked by a grave Country Gentleman (who was desirous to be instructed what their Tenets and Opinions were) "what the *Arminians* held," He pleasantly answered, that *They held all the best Bishopricks and Deaneries in England*; which was quickly reported abroad, as Mr. Morley's Definition of the *Arminian* Tenets.

SUCH, and the like harmless and jocular Sayings, upon many accidental Occasions, had wrought upon the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Laud* (who lived to change his Mind, and to have a just Esteem of him) to entertain some Prejudice towards him; and the Respect which was paid him by many eminent Persons, as *John Hampden*, *Arthur Goodwin*, and others, who were not thought Friends to the Prosperity the Church was in, made others apprehend that He was not enough zealous for it. But that Disaffection, and Virulency (which few Men had then owned and discovered) no sooner appeared, in those, and other Men, but Dr. Morley made Haste as publickly to oppose them, both in private, and in publick; which had the more Effect to the Benefit of the Church, by his being a Person above all possible Reproach, and known, and valued by more Persons of Honour than most of the Clergy were; and being not only without the Envy of any Preferment, but under the Advantage of a discountenanced Person. And as He was afterwards the late King's Chaplain, and much regarded by him, and as long about him, as any of his Chaplains were

were permitted to attend him; so presently after his Murder, He left the Kingdom, and remained in Banishment, till King *Charles* the Second's happy Return.

DOCTOR *Earles* was at that Time Chaplain in ^{of Dr.} the House to the Earl of *Pembroke*, Lord Chamber-^{Earles.}lain of his Majesty's Household, and had a Lodging in the Court under that Relation. He was a Person very notable for his Elegance in the *Greek*, and *Latin* Tongues; and being Fellow of *Merton* College in *Oxford*, and having been Proctor of the University, and some very witty, and sharp Discourses being published in Print without his Consent, though known to be his, He grew suddenly into a very general Esteem with all Men; being a Man of great Piety and Devotion; a most eloquent and powerful Preacher; and of a Conversation so pleasant and delightful, so very innocent, and so very facetious, that no Man's Company was more desired, and more loved. No Man was more negligent in his Dress, and Habit, and Mien; no Man more wary, and cultivated, in his Behaviour, and Discourse; insomuch as He had the greater Advantage when He was known, by promising so little before He was known. He was an excellent Poet, both in *Latin*, *Greek*, and *English*, as appears by many Pieces yet abroad; though He suppressed many more himself, especially of *English*, incomparably good, out of an Austerity to those Sallies of his Youth. He was very dear to the Lord *Falkland*, with whom He spent as much Time as He could make his own; and as that Lord would impute the speedy Progress He made in the *Greek* Tongue, to the Information, and Assistance He had from Mr. *Earles*, so Mr. *Earles* would frequently profess, that He had got more useful Learning by his Conversation at *Tew* (the Lord *Falkland*'s House) than He had at (27) *Oxford*. In the first settling of the Prince his Family,

ly, He was made one of his Chaplains; and attended on him when He was forced to leave the Kingdom. He was amongst the few excellent Men who never had, nor ever could have an Enemy, but such a one, who was an Enemy to all Learning, and Virtue, and therefore would never make himself known.

Mr.
les.

Mr. JOHN HALES had been *Greek* Professor in the University of *Oxford*; and had born the greatest Part of the Labour of that excellent Edition and Impression of *St. Chrysostom's* Works, set out by Sir *Harry Savile*; who was then Warden of *Merton* College, when the other was Fellow of that House. He was Chaplain in the House with Sir *Dudley Carleton*, Ambassador at the *Hague* in *Holland*, at the Time when the Synod of *Dort* was held, and so had Liberty to be present at the Consultations in that Assembly; and hath left the best Memorial behind him, of the Ignorance, and Passion, and Animosity, and Injustice of that Convention; of which He often made very pleasant Relations; though at that Time it received too much Countenance from *England*. Being a Person of the greatest Eminency for Learning, and other Abilities, from which He might have promised himself any Preferment in the Church, He withdrew himself from all Pursuits of that Kind, into a private Fellowship in the College of *Eton*, where his Friend Sir *Harry Savile* was Provost; where He lived amongst his Books, and the most separated from the World of any Man then living; though He was not in the least Degree inclined to Melancholy, but on the contrary, of a very open and pleasant Conversation; and therefore was very well pleased with the Resort of his Friends to him, who were such as He had chosen, and in whose Company He delighted, and for whose Sake He would sometimes, once in a Year, resort to *London*, only to enjoy their chearful Conversation.

H E

He would never take any Cure of Souls; and was so great a Contemner of Money, that He was wont to say, that his Fellowship, and the Burfar's Place (which for the Good of the College, He held many Years) was worth him fifty Pounds a Year more than He could spend; and yet, besides his being very charitable to all poor People, even to Liberality; He had made a greater, and better Collection of Books, than were to be found in any other private Library that I have seen; as He had sure read more, and carried more about him, in his excellent Memory, than any Man I ever knew, my Lord *Falkland* only excepted, who I think sided him. He had, whether from his natural Temper and Constitution, or from his long Retirement from all Crowds, or from his profound Judgment, and discerning Spirit, contracted some Opinions, which were not received, nor by him published, except in private Discourses; and then rather upon Occasion of Dispute, than of positive Opinion; and He would often say, his Opinions He was sure did him no Harm, but He was far from being confident, that They might not do others Harm, who entertained them, and might entertain other Results from them, than He did; and therefore He was very reserved in communicating what He thought Himself in those Points, in which He differed from what was received.

NOTHING troubled him more, than the Brawls which were grown from Religion; and He therefore exceedingly detested the Tyranny of the Church of *Rome*; more for their imposing uncharitably upon the Consciences of other Men, than for the Errors in their own Opinions; and would often say, that He would renounce the Religion of the Church of *England* to-morrow, if it obliged him to believe⁽²⁸⁾ that any other Christians should be damned; and that no Body would conclude another Man to be damned,

damned, who did not wish him so. No Man more strict and severe to himself; to other Men so charitable as to their Opinions, that He thought that other Men were more in Fault for their Carriage towards them, than the Men themselves were, who erred; and He thought that Pride, and Passion, more than Conscience, were the Cause of all Separation from each others Communion; and He frequently said, that that only kept the World from agreeing upon such a Liturgy, as might bring them into one Communion; all doctrinal Points upon which Men differed in their Opinions, being to have no Place in any Liturgy. Upon an occasional Discourse with a Friend, of the frequent, and uncharitable Reproaches of Heretick, and Schismatick, too lightly thrown at each other, amongst Men who differ in their Judgment, He writ a little Discourse of Schism, contained in less than two Sheets of Paper; which being transmitted from Friend to Friend in Writing, was at last, without any Malice, brought to the View of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Dr. *Laud*, who was a very rigid Surveyor of all Things which never so little bordered upon Schism; and thought the Church could not be too vigilant against, and jealous of such Incurfions.

He sent for Mr. *Hales*, whom, when They had both lived in the University of *Oxford*, He had known well; and told him, that He had in Truth believed him to be long since dead; and chid him very kindly for having never come to him, having been of his old Acquaintance; then asked him, whether He had lately writ a short Discourse of Schism, and whether He was of that Opinion, which that Discourse implied. He told him, that He had, for the Satisfaction of a private Friend (who was not of his Mind) a Year or two before, writ such a small Tract, without any Imagination that it would be communicated; and that He be-
lieved

lieved it did not contain any Thing, that was not agreeable to the Judgment of the Primitive Fathers; upon which, the Archbishop debated with him upon some Expressions of *Ireneus*, and the most ancient Fathers; and concluded with saying, that the Time was very apt to set new Doctrines on Foot, of which the Wits of the Age were too susceptible; and that there could not be too much Care taken, to preserve the Peace and Unity of the Church; and from thence asked him of his Condition, and whether He wanted any Thing, and the other answering, that He had enough, and wanted, or desired no Addition, so dismissed him with great Courtesy; and shortly after sent for him again, when there was a Prebendary of *Windsor* fallen, and told him, the King had given him the Preferment, because it lay so convenient to his Fellowship of *Eton*; which (though indeed the most convenient Preferment that could be thought of for him) the Archbishop could not without great Difficulty, persuade him to accept, and He did accept it rather to please Him, than himself; because He really believed He had enough before. He was one of the least Men in the Kingdom; and one of the greatest Scholars in *Europe*.

MR. CHILLINGWORTH was of a Stature little superior to Mr. *Hales* (and it was an Age, in which there were many great and wonderful Men of that Size) and a Man of so great a Subtilty of Understanding, and so rare a Temper in Debate; that as it was impossible to provoke him into any Passion, so it was very difficult to keep a Man's self from being a little discomposed by his Sharpness, and Quickness of Argument, and Instances, in which He had a rare Facility, and a great Advantage over all the Men I ever knew. He had spent all his younger Time in Disputation; and (29) had arrived to so great a Mastery, as He was inferior

of Mr. Chillingworth.

riour to no Man in those Skirmishes; but He had, with his notable Perfection in this Exercise, contracted such an Irresolution, and Habit of doubting, that by Degrees He grew confident of Nothing, and a Sceptick at least, in the greatest Mysteries of Faith.

THIS made him from first wavering in Religion, and indulging to Scruples, to reconcile himself too soon, and too easily to the Church of *Rome*; and carrying still his own Inquisitiveness about him, without any Resignation to their Authority (which is the only Temper can make that Church sure of it's Profelytes) having made a Journey to *St. Omers*, purely to perfect his Conversion, by the Conversation of those, who had the greatest Name, He found as little Satisfaction there; and returned with as much Haste from them; with a Belief that an entire Exemption from Error, was neither inherent in, nor necessary to any Church: Which occasioned that War, which was carried on by the Jesuits with so great Asperity, and Reproaches against him, and in which He defended himself, by such an admirable Eloquence of Language, and clear, and incomparable Power of Reason, that He not only made them appear unequal Adversaries, but carried the War into their own Quarters; and made the Pope's Infallibility to be as much shaken, and declined by their own Doctors (and as great an Acrimony amongst themselves upon that Subject) and to be at least as much doubted, as in the Schools of the Reformed or Protestant; and forced them since, to defend and maintain those unhappy Controversies in Religion, with Arms and Weapons of another Nature, than were used, or known in the Church of *Rome*, when *Bellarmino* died; and which probably will in Time undermine the very Foundation that supports it.

SUCH

SUCH a Levity, and Propensity to change, is commonly attended with great Infirmities in, and no less Reproach, and Prejudice to the Person; but the Sincerity of his Heart was so conspicuous, and without the least Temptation of any corrupt End; and the Innocence, and Candour in his Nature so evident, and without any Perverseness; that all who knew him, clearly discerned, that all those restless Motions and Fluctuations, proceeded only from the Warmth and Jealousy of his own Thoughts, in a too nice Inquisition for Truth. Neither the Books of the Adversary, nor any of their Persons, though He was acquainted with the best of both, had ever made great Impression upon him; all his Doubts grew out of himself, when He assisted his Scruples with all the Strength of his own Reason, and was then too hard for himself; but finding as little Quiet and Repose in those Victories, He quickly recovered, by a new Appeal to his own Judgment; so that He was in Truth, upon the Matter, in all his Sallies, and Retreats, his own Convert; though He was not so totally divested of all Thoughts of this World, but that when He was ready for it, He admitted some great and considerable Churchmen, to be Sharers with him in his publick Conversion.

WHILST He was in Perplexity, or rather some passionate Disinclination to the Religion He had been educated in, He had the Misfortune to have much Acquaintance with one Mr. *Lugar*, a Minister of that Church; a Man of a Competency of Learning, in those Points most controverted with the *Romanists*, but of no acute Parts of Wit, or Judgment; and wrought so far upon him, by weakening, and enervating those Arguments, by which He found He was governed (as He had all the Logic, and all the Rhetorick, that was necessary to persuade very powerfully Men of the greatest Talents)

lents) that the poor Man, not able to live long in Doubt, too hastily deserted his own Church, and⁽³⁰⁾ betook himself to the *Roman*: Nor could all the Arguments, and Reasons of Mr. *Chillingworth* make him pause in the Expedition He was using; or reduce him from that Church after He had given himself to it; but He had always a great Animosity against him, for having (as He said) unkindly betrayed him, and carried him into another Religion, and there left him. So unfit are some Constitutions to be troubled with Doubts, after They are once fixed.

He did really believe all War to be unlawful; and did not think that the Parliament (whose Proceedings He perfectly abhorred) did in Truth intend to involve the Nation in a Civil War, till after the Battle of *Edgehill*; and then He thought any Expedient, or Stratagem that was like to put a speedy End to it, to be the most commendable: And so having too mathematically conceived an Engine, that should move so lightly, as to be a Breast-work in all Encounters, and Assaults in the Field; He carried it, to make the Experiment, into that Part of his Majesty's Army, which was only in that Winter Season in the Field, under the Command of the Lord *Hopton*, in *Hampshire*, upon the Borders of *Suffex*; where He was shut up in the Castle of *Arundel*; which was forced, after a short, sharp Siege, to yield for want of Victual; and poor Mr. *Chillingworth* with it, falling into the Rebels Hands; and being most barbarously treated by them, especially by that Clergy which followed them; and being broken with Sickness, contracted by the ill Accommodation, and Want of Meat, and Fire during the Siege, which was in a terrible Season of Frost and Snow, He died shortly after in Prison. He was a Man of excellent Parts, and of a chearful Disposition; void of all Kind of Vice, and endued with

with many notable Virtues; of a very publick Heart, and an indefatigable Desire to do Good; his only Unhappiness proceeded from his sleeping too little, and thinking too much; which sometimes threw him into violent Fevers.

THIS was Mr. HYDE's Company, and Conversation, to which He dedicated his vacant Times, and all that Time which He could make vacant, from the Business of his Profession; which He indulged with no more Passion than was necessary to keep up the Reputation of a Man, that had no Purpose to be idle; which indeed He perfectly abhorred: And He took always Occasion to celebrate the Time He had spent in that Conversation, with great Satisfaction, and Delight. Nor was He less fortunate, in the Acquaintance and Friendships which He made with the Persons in his Profession; who were all eminent Men, or of the most hopeful Parts; who being all much superior to him in Age, and Experience, and entirely devoted to their Profession, were yet well pleased with the Gaiety of his Humour, and inoffensive, and winning Behaviour; and this good Inclination of theirs was improved by the Interest They saw He had in Persons of the best Quality, to whom He was very acceptable, and his Condition of living, which was with more Expence than young Lawyers were accustomed to.

THOSE Persons were, Mr. Lane, who was then Mr. Hyde's Friends in his Profession. Attorney to the Prince of Wales; and afterwards Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer; and lastly upon the Death of the Lord Littleton, was made Keeper of the Great Seal, who died in Banishment with King Charles the Second. Mr. Geoffrey Palmer, afterwards Attorney General. Mr. John Maynard; and Bulstrode Whitlock; all Men of eminent Parts, and great Learning out of their Professions; and in their Professions, of signal Reputation; and though the two last did afterwards bow their Knees to

to *Baal*, and so swerved from their Allegiance, it was with less Rancour and Malice than other Men;⁽³¹⁾ They never led, but followed; and were rather carried away with the Torrent, than swam with the Stream; and failed through those Infirmities, which less than a general Defection, and a prosperous Rebellion could never have discovered. With these, and very few other Persons of other Societies, and of more than ordinary Parts in the Profession, He conversed. In Business, and in Practice, with the rest of the Profession He had at most a formal Acquaintance, and little Familiarity; very seldom using, when his Practice was at highest, so much as to eat in the Hall, without which, no Man ever got the Reputation of a good Student; but He ever gave his Time of eating to his Friends; and was wont pleasantly to say, "that He repaired himself with very good Company at Dinner, for the ill Company He had kept in the Morning;" and made himself amends for the Time He lost with his Friends, by declining Suppers; and with a Part of that Time which was allowed for Sleep: But He grew every Day more intent on Business, and more engaged in Practice, so that He could not assign so much Time as He had used to do, to his beloved Conversation.

THE Countenance He received from the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who took all Occasion to mention him as a Person He had Kindness for; the Favour of the Lord *Coventry*, manifested as often as He came before him; the Reception He found with the Lord Privy Seal, the Earl of *Manchester*, who had raised the Court of Requests to as much Business as the Chancery itself was possessed of, and where He was looked upon as a Favourite; the Familiarity used towards him by the Lord *Pembroke*, who was Lord Chamberlain of the King's House, and a greater Man in the Country than the Court;

by

by the *Earl of Holland*, and many other Lords and Ladies, and other Persons of Interest in the Court, made him looked upon by the Judges in *Westminster Hall*, with much Condescension; and They, who before He put on his Gown, looked upon him as one who designed some other Course of Life (for though He had been always very punctual in the Performance of all those publick Exercises the Profession obliged him to, both before, and after He was called to the Bar; yet in all other Respects He seemed not to confine himself wholly to that Course of Life) now when They no sooner saw him put on his Gown, but that He was suddenly in Practice, and taken Notice of particularly in all Courts of Justice with unusual Countenance, thought He would make what Progress He desired in that Profession.

As He had those many Friends in Court, so He was not less acceptable to many great Persons in the Country, who least regarded the Court, and were least esteemed by it; and He had that rare Felicity, that even They, who did not love many of those, upon whom He most depended, were yet very well pleased with him, and with his Company. The *Earl of Hertford*, and the *Earl of Essex*, whose Interests, and Friendships were then the same; and who were looked upon with Reverence by all who had not Reverence for the Court; and even by all in the Court, who were not satisfied there (which was, and always will be a great People) were very kind to him, and ready to trust him in any Thing that was most secret; and though He could not dispose the Archbishop, or the *Earl of Essex* to any Correspondence, or good Intelligence with each other; which He exceedingly laboured to do, and found an equal Aversion in both towards each other; yet He succeeded to his Wish in bringing the Archbishop, and the *Earl of Hertford*.

Hert-

*Mr. Hyde
reconciles the
Archbishop,
and the Earl
of Hertford.*

Hertford to a very good Acquaintance, and Inclination to each other; which They both often acknowledged kindly to him, and with which the Earl of *Essex* was as much unsatisfied.

THE Person whose Life this Discourse is to collect (and who had so great an Affection, and Reverence for the Memory of Archbishop *Laud*, that He never spake of him without extraordinary Esteem, and believed him to be a Man of the most exemplar Virtue, and Piety of any of that Age) was wont to say, the greatest Want the Archbishop had, was of a true Friend, who would seasonably have told him of his Infirmities, and what People spake of him; and He said, He knew well, that such a Friend would have been very acceptable to him; and upon that Occasion He used to mention a Story of himself; that when He was a young Practiser of the Law, being in some Favour with him (as is mentioned before) He went to visit him, in the Beginning of a *Michaelmas* Term, shortly after his Return from the Country, where He had spent a Month or two of the Summer.

His free Ex-
postulation
with the
Archbishop.

He found the Archbishop early walking in the Garden; who received him according to his Custom, very graciously, and continuing his Walk, asked him, "what good News in the Country?" to which He answered, "there was none good; the People "were universally discontented; and (which troubled him most) that many People spoke extreme "ill of his Grace, as the Cause of all that was "amiss." He replied, "that He was sorry for it; "He knew He did not deserve it; and that He "must not give over serving the King, and the "Church, to please the People, who otherwise "would not speak well of him." Mr. *Hyde* told him, "He thought He need not lessen his Zeal for "either; and that it grieved him to find Persons "of the best Condition, and who loved both King, and

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“and Church, exceedingly indevoted to Him; complaining of his Manner of treating them, when “They had Occasion to resort to him, it may be, “for his Directions.” And then named him two Persons of the most Interest and Credit in *Wiltshire*, who had that Summer attended the Council Board, in some Affairs which concerned the King, and the Country; that all the Lords present used them with great Courtesy, knowing well their Quality, and Reputation; but that He alone spake very sharply to them, and without any Thing of Grace, at which They were much troubled; and one of them, supposing that Somebody had done him ill Offices, went the next Morning to *Lambeth*, to present his Service to him, and to discover, if He could, what Misrepresentation had been made of him: That after He had attended very long, He was admitted to speak with his Grace, who scarce hearing him, sharply answered him, that “He had no Leisure “for Compliments;” and so hurried away; which put the other Gentleman much out of Countenance: And that this Kind of Behaviour of his was the Discourse of all Companies of Persons of Quality; every Man continuing any such Story with another like it, very much to his Disadvantage; and to the Trouble of those who were very just to him.

He heard the Relation very patiently, and attentively; and discoursed over every Particular with all imaginable Condescension; and said, with evident Shew of Trouble, that “He was very unfortunate to be so ill understood; that He meant “very well; that He remembered the Time, when “those two Persons were with the Council; that “upon any Deliberations, when any Thing was resolved, or to be said to any Body, the Council “enjoined him to deliver their Resolutions; which “He did always according to the best of his Understanding.”

*The Archb.
bishop's Res-
py.*

“derstanding; but by the Imperfection He had by
 “Nature, which He said often troubled him, He
 “might deliver it in such a Tune, and with a⁽³⁾
 “Sharpness of Voice, that made Men believe He
 “was angry, when there was no such Thing; that
 “when those Gentlemen were there, and He had
 “delivered what He was to say, They made some
 “Stay, and spake with some of the Lords, which
 “not being according to Order, He thought He
 “gave them some Reprehension; They having at
 “that Time very much other Business to do: That
 “He did well remember, that one of them, (who
 “was a Person of Honour) came afterwards to him,
 “at a Time He was shut up about an Affair of
 “Importance, which required his full Thoughts;
 “but that as soon as He heard of the other’s being
 “without, He sent for him, himself going into the
 “next Room, and received him very kindly, as He
 “thought; and supposing that He came about Bu-
 “siness, asked him what his Business was; and the
 “other answering, that He had no Business, but
 “continuing his Address with some Ceremony, He
 “had indeed said, that He had not Time for Com-
 “pliments; but He did not think that He went
 “out of the Room in that Manner: And con-
 “cluded, that it was not possible for him in the
 “many Occupations He had, to spend any Time
 “in unnecessary Compliments; and that if his In-
 “tegrity and Uprightness, which never should be
 “liable to Reproach, could not be strong enough
 “to preserve him, He must submit to God’s Plea-
 “sure.”

He was well contented to hear Mr. *Hyde* reply
 very freely upon the Subject, who said, “He ob-
 “served by what his Grace himself had related,
 “that the Gentlemen had too much Reason for
 “the Report They made; and He did not won-
 “der that They had been much troubled at his
 “Car-

"Carriage towards them; that He did exceedingly
 "wish, that He would more reserve his Passion to-
 "wards all Persons, how faulty soever; and that
 "He would treat Persons of Honour, and Quality,
 "and Interest in their Country, with more Cour-
 "tesy, and Condescension; especially when They
 "came to visit him, and make Offer of their Ser-
 "vice." He said, smiling, that "He could only
 "undertake for his Heart; that He had very good
 "Meaning; for his Tongue, He could not under-
 "take, that He would not sometimes speak more
 "hastily, and sharply, than He should do (which
 "oftentimes He was sorry, and reprehended him-
 "self for) and in a Tune which might be liable to
 "Misinterpretation, with them, who were not very
 "well acquainted with him, and so knew, that it
 "was an Infirmary, which his Nature, and Educa-
 "tion had so rooted in him, that it was in vain to
 "contend with it." For the State, and Distance
 He kept with Men, He said, "He thought it was
 "not more than was suitable to the Place and De-
 "gree He held in the Church, and State; or so
 "much as others had assumed to themselves, who
 "had sate in his Place; and thereupon He told him
 "some Behaviour and Carriage of his Predecessor
 "Abbot (who He said was not better born than
 "himself) towards the greatest Nobility of the King-
 "dom, which He thought was very insolent, and
 "inexcusable;" and was indeed very ridiculous.

AFTER this free Discourse, Mr. *Hyde* ever found
 himself more graciously received by him, and treat-
 ed with more Familiarity; upon which He always
 concluded, that if the Archbishop had had any true
 Friend, who would, in proper Seasons, have dealt
 frankly with him, in the most important Matters,
 and wherein the Errors were like to be most penal,
 He would not only have received it very well, but
 have profited himself by it. But it is the Misfor-

tune of most Persons of that Education (how worthy soever) that They have rarely Friendships with Men above their own Condition; and that their Ascent being commonly sudden, from low to high, They have afterwards rather Dependants than⁽³⁴⁾ Friends; and are still deceived, by keeping somewhat in Reserve to themselves, even from those with whom They seem most openly to communicate; and which is worse, receive for the most Part, their Informations and Advertisements from Clergymen, who understand the least, and take the worst Measure of human Affairs, of all Mankind, that can write, and read.

UNDER this universal Acquaintance, and general Acceptation, Mr. *Hyde* led, for many Years, as chearful, and pleasant a Life, as any Man did enjoy, as long as the Kingdom took any Pleasure in itself. His Practice grew every Day as much as He wished; and would have been much more, if He had wished it; by which, He not only supported his Expence, greater much than Men of his Rank, and Pretences, used to make, but encreased his Estate by some convenient Purchases of Land, adjoining to his other; and He grew so much in Love with Business and Practice, that He gave up his whole Heart to it; resolving, by a Course of severe Study, to recover the Time He had lost upon less profitable Learning; and to intend Nothing else, but to reap all those Benefits, to which that Profession could carry him, and to the pursuing whereof, He had so many, and so unusual Encouragements; and towards which it was not the least, that God had blessed him with an excellent Wife, who perfectly resigned herself to him; and who then had brought him, before any Troubles in the Kingdom, three Sons, and a Daughter, which He then, and ever, looked upon as his greatest Blessing, and Consolation.

BE-

BECAUSE we shall have little Cause hereafter to mention any other Particulars, in the calm Part of his Life, whilst He followed the Study, and Practice of the Law, it will not in this Place appear a very impertinent Digression to say, that He was, in that very Time, when Fortune seemed to smile, and to intend well towards him, and often afterwards, throughout the whole Course of his Life, wont to say, that "when He reflected upon himself, and his past Actions, even from the Time of his first coming to the *Middle Temple*, He had much more Cause to be terrified upon the Reflection, than the Man had, who viewed *Rochester Bridge* in the Morning that it was broken, and which He had galloped over in the Night; that He had passed over more Precipices than the other had done, for many Nights, and Days, and some Years together; from which, Nothing but the immediate Hand of God, could have preserved him." For though it is very true, the Persons before mentioned were the only Men, in whose Company, in those Seasons of his Life, He took Delight; yet He frequently found himself in the Conversation of worse, and indeed of all Manner of Men; and it being in the Time when the War was entered into against the two Crowns; and the Expeditions made to, and unprosperous Returns from *Cadiz*, and the Isle of *Ree*, the Town was full of Soldiers, and of young Gentlemen who intended to be Soldiers, or as like them as They could; great License used of all Kinds, in Cloaths, in Diet, in Gaming; and all Kinds of Expenses equally carried on, by Men who had Fortunes of their own to support it, and by others, who having Nothing of their own, cared not what They spent, whilst They could find Credit; so that there was never an Age, in which in so short a Time, so many young Gentlemen, who had not Experience

*Mr. Hyde's
Reflections on
the younger
Part of his
Life.*

in the World, or some good tutelar Angel to protect them, were insensibly, and suddenly overwhelmed in that Sea of Wine, and Women, and Quarrels, and Gaming, which almost overspread the whole Kingdom, and the Nobility, and Gentry thereof. And when He had by God's immediate Blessing, disentangled himself from these Labyrinths⁽³⁵⁾ (his Nature and Inclination disposing him rather to pass through those dissolute Quarters, than to make any Stay in them) and was enough composed against any extravagant Excursions; He was still conversant with a Rank of Men (how worthy soever) above his Quality; and engaged in an Expense above his Fortune, if the extraordinary Accidents of his Life, had not supplied him for those Excesses; so that it brought no Prejudice upon him, except in the Censure of severe Men, who thought him a Person of more License than in Truth He was; and who in a short Time, were very fully reconciled to him.

*And his own
Character.*

HE had without Doubt, great Infirmities; which by a providential Mercy were seasonably restrained from growing into Vices, at least into any that were habitual. He had Ambition enough to keep him from being satisfied with his own Condition, and to raise his Spirit to great Designs of raising himself; but not to transport him to endeavour it by any crooked, and indirect Means. He was never suspected to flatter the greatest Men; or in the least Degree to dissemble his own Opinions, or Thoughts, how ingrateful soever it often proved; and even an affected Defect in, and Contempt of those two useful Qualities cost him dear afterwards. He indulged his Palate very much, and took even some Delight in eating and drinking well; but without any Approach to Luxury; and, in Truth, rather discoursed like an Epicure, than was one; having spent much Time in the eating Hours, with the Earl of *Dorset*, the Lord *Carway*, and the Lord *Lumley*, Men who excelled

excelled in gratifying their Appetites. He had a Fancy sharp, and luxuriant; but so carefully cultivated, and strictly guarded, that He never was heard to speak a loose, or a profane Word; which He imputed to the Chastity of the Persons, where his Conversation usually was; where that rank Sort of Wit was religiously detested; and a little Discountenance would quickly root those unfavourable Weeds out of all Discourses where Persons of Honour are present.

HE was in his Nature inclined to Pride and Passion; and to a Humour between Wrangling, and Disputing, very troublesome; which good Company in a short Time, so much reformed, and mastered, that no Man was more affable and courteous to all Kind of Persons; and They who knew the great Infirmary of his whole Family, which abounded in Passion, used to say, He had much extinguished the Unruliness of that Fire. That which supported, and rendered him generally acceptable, was his Generosity (for He had too much a Contempt of Money) and the Opinion Men had of the Goodness, and Justice of his Nature, which was transcendent in him, in a wonderful Tenderness, and Delight in obliging. His Integrity was ever without Blemish; and believed to be above Temptation. He was firm and unshaken in his Friendships: And though He had great Candour towards others in the Differences of Religion, He was zealously, and deliberately fixed in the Principles both of the Doctrine, and Discipline of the Church: Yet He used to say to his nearest Friends, in that Time, when He expected another Kind of Calm for the Remainder of his Life, "though He had some "glimmering Light of, and Inclination to Virtue "in his Nature, that the whole Progress of his Life "had been full of desperate Hazards; and that "only the merciful Hand of God Almighty had

“prevented his being both an unfortunate, and a “vicious Man:” And He still said, that “God had “vouchsafed that signal Goodness to him, for the “Piety, and exemplar Virtue of his Father, and “Mother;” whose Memory He had always in Veneration: And He was pleased with what his nearest Ally, and Bosom Friend Serjeant *Hyde* (who was afterwards Chief Justice of the King’s Bench) used⁽³⁶⁾ at that Time to say of him, that his Cousin had passed his Time very luckily; and with notable Success; and was like to be very happy in the World; but He would never advise any of his Friends to walk in the same Paths, or to tread in his Steps,

General State
of Europe,
A. D. 1639.

It was about the Year 1639, when He was little more than thirty Years of Age; and when *England* enjoyed the greatest Measure of Felicity, that it had ever known; the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain* worrying each other, by their mutual IncurSIONS, and InvasIONS; whilst They had both a Civil War in their own Bowels; the former, by frequent Rebellions from their own Factions, and Animosities; the latter, by the Defection of *Portugal*; and both laboured more to ransack, and burn each other’s Dominions, than to extinguish their own Fire. All *Germany* weltering in it’s own Blood; and contributing to each other’s Destruction, that the poor Crown of *Sweden* might grow great out of their Ruins, and at their Charge. *Denmark*, and *Poland* being Adventurers in the same destructive Enterprizes. *Holland*, and the *United Provinces* wearied, and tired with their long, and chargeable War, how prosperous soever They were in it; and beginning to be more afraid of *France*, their Ally, than of *Spain*, their Enemy. *Italy*, every Year infested by the Arms of *Spain*, and *France*; which divided the Princes thereof into the several Factions.

Of

OF all the Princes of *Europe*, the King of *England* alone seemed to be seated upon that pleasant Promontory, that might safely view the tragick Sufferings of all his Neighbours about him, without any other Concernment, than what arose from his own princely Heart, and christian Compassion, to see such Desolation wrought by the Pride, and Passion, and Ambition of private Persons, supported by Princes, who knew not what themselves would have. His three Kingdoms flourishing in entire Peace, and universal Plenty; in Danger of Nothing but their own Surfeits; and his Dominions every Day enlarged, by sending out Colonies upon large, and fruitful Plantations; his strong Fleets commanding all Seas; and the numerous Shipping of the Nation bringing the Trade of the World into his Ports; nor could it with unquestionable Security be carried any whither else; and all these Blessings enjoyed, under a Prince of the greatest Clemency, and Justice, and of the greatest Piety, and Devotion, and the most indulgent to his Subjects, and most solicitous for their Happiness and Prosperity.

O fortunati nimium, bona si sua norint!

IN this blessed Conjunction, when no other Prince thought He wanted any Thing, to compass what He most desired to be possessed of, but the Affection and Friendship of the King of *England*; a small, scarce discernable Cloud arose in the North; which was shortly after attended with such a Storm, that never gave over raging, till it had shaken, and even rooted up the greatest, and tallest Cedars of the three Nations; blasted all its Beauty, and Fruitfulness; brought its Strength to Decay, and its Glory to Reproach, and almost to Desolation; by such a Career, and Deluge of Wickedness, and Rebellion, as by not being enough foreseen, or, in Truth, suspected, could not be prevented.

Mr. Hyde
chosen Mem-
ber for Wot-
ton-Basset.

UPON the Rebellion in *Scotland*, in the Year 1640, the King called a Parliament; which met according to Summons, upon the 3d of *April*. Mr. Hyde was chosen to serve for two Places; for the Borough of *Wotton-Basset* in the County of *Wilts*; and for the Borough of *Sbafesbury*, in the County of *Dorset*; but made Choice to serve for his Neighbours of the former Place; and so a new Writ⁽³⁷⁾ issued for the Choice of another Burgefs for *Sbafesbury*.

His first
Speech in the
House of
Commons.

THE next Day after Mr. Pym had recapitulated the whole Series of the Grievances, and Miscarriages, which had been in the State; Mr. Hyde told the House, that "that worthy Gentleman had omitted one Grievance, more heavy than (as He thought) many of the others; which was, the Earl Marshal's Court: A Court newly erected, without Colour, or Shadow of Law, which took upon it to fine, and imprison the King's Subjects; and to give great Damages for Matters which the Law gave no Damages for." He repeated a pleasant Story of a Citizen, who being rudely treated, for more than his Fare came to, by a Waterman, who pressing him, still shewed his Crest, or Badge upon his Coat, the Citizen bad him be gone with his Goose; whereas it was in Truth, a Swan, the Crest of an Earl, whose Servant the Waterman was; whereupon the Citizen was called into the Marshal's Court, and after a long, and chargeable Attendance, was, for the opprobrious dishonouring the Earl's Crest, by calling the Swan a Goose, fined, and imprisoned, till He had paid considerable Damages to the Lord, or at least to the Waterman; which really undid the Citizen.

He told them another Story as ridiculous, of a Gentleman, who owing his Taylor a long Time a good Sum of Money for Cloaths, and his Taylor coming one Day to his Chamber, with more than ordi-

ordinary Importunity for his Debt, and not receiving any good Answer, threatened to arrest him; upon which the Gentleman enraged, gave him very ill Words, called him base Fellow, and laid his Hands upon him, to thrust him out of his Chamber; in this Struggle, and under this Provocation, Oppression, and Reproach, the poor Taylor chanced to say, that He was as good a Man as the other; for which Words He was called into the Marshal's Court; and for his Peace, was content to be satisfied his Debt, out of his own ill Manners; being compelled to release all his other Demands in Lieu of Damages. The Case was known by many, and detested by all.

He told them, that "there was an Appendant
"to that Court, which He called the Pageantry of
"it, the Heralds, who were as grievous to the Gen-
"try, as the Court was to the People. He said,
"that sure the Knights of that House, when They
"received that Honour from the King, though
"They might think themselves obliged to live at
"a higher Rate, yet They believed, that They
"might die as good cheap as other Men; He told
"them They could not, it would cost them ten
"Pounds more; and yet a Gentleman could not
"die for Nothing." The Heralds had procured such
an Order from the Earl Marshal, to force all Persons
to pay at their Funerals, such several Sums, accord-
ing to their several Degrees. He concluded with a
Desire, that when the Wisdom of that House pro-
vided Remedies against the other Grievances, it
would likewise secure the Subject against this Ex-
orbitance. This Representation was very accep-
table to the House, both in Respect of the Matter,
which was odious enough; and in Regard of the
Person that usurped that monstrous Jurisdiction,
who was in no Degree grateful to them; upon
whom He that made the Motion, had not made
the

the least Reflection: The Modesty of that Time not permitting the Mention of great Men, with any Reproach, until their Offences were first examined, and proved; and this being the first Part He had acted upon that Stage, brought him much Applause; and He was ever afterwards heard with great Benignity.

*He endeavours
to prevent the
Dissolution of
the Parlia-
ment.*

UPON the warm Debate in the House of Commons, concerning the giving the King Money, Mr. Hyde observed by the several Discourses of many of⁽³⁸⁾ the Court, who were of near Admission to the King, and Queen, and like to make probable Guesses, that They believed, the King would be so much displeased at the Proceedings of the House, that He would dissolve them; which He believed would prove the most fatal Resolution could be taken. As soon as the House was up, He went over to *Lambeth*, to the Archbishop; whom He found walking in his Garden, having received a full Account of all that had passed, from Persons who had made more Haste from the House. He appeared sad, and full of Thoughts; and calling the other to him, seemed willing to hear what He would say. He told him, "that He would not trouble him with
"the Relation of any Thing that had passed, of
"which He presumed He had received a good Ac-
"count; that his Business was only to inform him
"of his own Fears and Apprehensions; and the
"Observations He had made upon the Discourses
"of some considerable Men of the Court; as if the
"King might be wrought upon, because there had
"not been that Expedition used as He expected,
"speedily to dissolve the Parliament. That He
"came only to beseech him to use all his Credit,
"to prevent such a desperate Counsel; which would
"produce great Mischief to the King, and to the
"Church: That He was confident the House was
"as well constituted and disposed, as ever House of
"Com-

"Commons was, or would be: That the Number
"of the disaffected to Church, or State, was very
"small; and though They might obstruct for some
"Time the quick resolving upon what was fit, They
"would never be able to pervert their good Inclinations, and Desires to serve the King."

THE Archbishop heard him very patiently, and said, He believed the King would be very angry at the Way of their Proceedings; for that in this Conjunction, the delaying, and denying to do what He desired, was the same Thing; and therefore He believed it probable that He would dissolve them; without which He could not enter upon other Counsels. That for his own Part, He was resolved to deliver no Opinion; but as He would not persuade the Dissolution, which might be attended by Consequences He could not foresee, so He had not so good an Opinion of their Affections to the King, or the Church, as to persuade their longer sitting, if the King were inclined to dissolve them: As He actually did on the 4th, or 5th of *May*, not three Weeks after their first Meeting.

THE Temper, and Constitution of both Houses of Parliament, which the King was forced to call shortly after, and met on the 3d of *November* 1640, was very different from the last: And They discovered not more Prejudice against any Man, than against Mr. *Hyde*; who was again returned to serve there, and whom They were sorry to find amongst them; as a Man They knew well to have great Affection for the Archbishop; and of unalterable Devotion to the Government of the Church; and therefore They first laboured to find some Defect in his Election; and then to irreconcile those towards him, who They found had any Esteem, or Kindness for him: But not finding the Success in either, answerable to their Expectation, They lived fairly towards him; and endeavoured by several Applications,

He is again returned to serve in Parliament.

tions, to gain Credit with him; who returned them their own Civilities; having had very particular Acquaintance with many of them, whom He as much endeavoured to preserve from being prevailed upon.

He procures
the Suppression
of the Earl
Marshal's
Court.

WITHIN few Days after their Meeting, He renewed the Motion He had made in the last Parliament, against the Marshal's Court (though He⁽³⁹⁾ knew the Earl Marshal had gotten himself much into their Favour, by his Application, and some Promises He had made them at the Meeting at York; and principally by his declared Averſion, and Prejudice to the Earl of *Strafford*) and told them what extravagant Proceedings there had been in that Court, ſince the Diſſolution of the laſt Parliament; and that more Damages had been given there, by the ſole Judgment of the Lord Marshal, for contumelious and reproachful Words, of which the Law took no Notice, in two Days, than had been given by all the Juries, in all the Courts in *Westminster Hall*, in the whole Term, and the Days for Trial after it was ended. Upon which He got a Committee to be named, of which himſelf ſat in the Chair; and found that the firſt Precedent They had in all their Records, for that Form of Proceeding, which They had uſed, and for giving of Damages for Words, was but in the Year 1633; and the very Entrance upon this Inquiſition, put an End to that upſtart Court, which never preſumed to ſit afterwards; and ſo that Grievance was thoroughly aboliſhed. And to manifeſt how great an Impreſſion the Alarums of this Kind made upon the higheſt, and the proudeſt Natures, the very next *Sunday* after this Motion was made in the Houſe of Commons, the Earl Marshal, ſeeing Mr. *Hyde* in the Cloſet at *Whitehall*, during the Time of the Sermon, He came with great Courteſy to him, thanked him for having treated his Perſon ſo civilly, when

when upon so just Reason He had found Fault with some of his Actions: Said, He believed He had been in the Wrong; but that He had been misled by the Advice of Sir *Harry Martin*, and other Civilians, who were held Men of great Learning, and who assured him, that those Proceedings were just, and lawful. He said, They had gained well by it, but should mislead him no more: And concluded with great Professions of Kindness, and Esteem; and offered him all Offices in his Power; when in his Heart, He did him the Honour to detest, and hate him perfectly; as He professed to all whom He trusted.

His Credit grew every Day in the House, in Spite of all the Endeavours, which were used to lessen it. And it being evident, that He had no Dependance upon the Court; and insisted wholly upon maintaining what the Law had established, very many wise Men, and of Estate, and Reputation in the Kingdom (who observed well the crooked, and ambitious Designs of those, who desired to be thought to care only for the Good of their Country) adhered to him; and were willing to take Advice from him, how to prevent those Miseries, which were like to be brought upon the Kingdom: So that They who had cut out all the Work from the Beginning, and seldom met with any notable Contradiction, found themselves now frequently disappointed; and different Resolutions taken, to what They had proposed; which They imputed to his Activity.

He was very much in the Business of the House; the greatest Chairman in the Committees of the greatest Moment; and very diligent in attending the Service both in the House, and at Committees: For He had from the Beginning of the Parliament, *He lays aside his Gown, and gives himself wholly to publick Business.* laid aside his Gown, and Practice, and wholly given himself up to the publick Business; which He saw
so

so much concerned the Peace, and very Being of the Kingdom. He was in the Chair in that Committee which considered of the Illegality of the Court of *York*: And the other, that examined the Miscarriages of the Judges, in the Case of Ship-Money, and in other Cases of Judicatory, in their several Courts; and prepared Charges thereupon against them. He was in the Chair against the Marshal's Court. In that Committee which was against the Court of *York*, which was prosecuted⁽⁴⁰⁾ with great Passion, and took up many Weeks Debate: In that which concerned the Jurisdiction of the Lord President, and Council, of the Marches of *Wales*; which likewise held a long Time, and was prosecuted with great Bitterness, and Animosity: In which the Inhabitants of the four neighbour Counties of *Salop*, *Worcester*, *Hereford*, and *Glocester*, and consequently the Knights, and Burgesses which served for the same, were passionately concerned to absolve themselves from the Burthen of that Jurisdiction; and all the Officers of that Court, and Council, whereof some were very great Men, and held Offices of great Value, laboured with equal Passion, and Concernment, to support, and maintain what was in Practice, and Possession; and their Friends appeared accordingly.

He was in the Chair in many Committees made upon private Complaints: Insomuch as He was seldom in the Afternoon free from that Service in the Committees; as He was never absent in Mornings from the House: And He was often heard to mention one private Committee, in which He was put accidentally into the Chair, upon an Inclosure which had been made of great Wastes, belonging to the Queen's Manors, without the Consent of the Tenants, the Benefit whereof had been given by the Queen to a Servant of near Trust; who forthwith sold the Lands inclosed to the Earl
of

of *Manchester*, Lord Privy Seal; who together with his Son *Mandevil*, were now most concerned to maintain the Inclosure; against which, as well the Inhabitants of other Manors, who claimed Common in those Wastes, as the Queen's Tenants of the same, made loud Complaints, as a great Oppression, carried upon them with a very high Hand, and supported by Power.

THE Committee sat in the Queen's Court; and *Oliver Cromwell* being one of them, appeared much concerned to countenance the Petitioners, who were numerous, together with their Witnesses; the Lord *Mandevil* being likewise present as a Party, and by the Direction of the Committee, sitting covered. *Cromwell* (who had never before been heard to speak in the House of Commons) ordered the Witnesses, and Petitioners in the Method of the Proceeding; and seconded, and enlarged upon what They said with great Passion; and the Witnesses, and Persons concerned, who were a very rude Kind of People, interrupted the Council, and Witnesses on the other Side, with great Clamour, when They said any Thing that did not please them; so that Mr. *Hyde* (whose Office it was to oblige Men of all Sorts to keep Order) was compelled to use some sharp Reproofs, and some Threats, to reduce them to such a Temper, that the Business might be quietly heard. *Cromwell* in great Fury reproached the Chairman for being partial, and that He discountenanced the Witnesses by threatening them; the Other appealed to the Committee, which justified him, and declared, that He behaved himself as He ought to do; which more inflamed him, who was already too much angry. When upon any Mention of Matter of Fact, or the Proceeding before, and at the Inclosure, the Lord *Mandevil* desired to be heard, and with great Modesty related what had been done, or explained what had been said, Mr. *Cromwell* did

The first Cause of Oliver Cromwell's Enmity to him.

answer, and reply upon him, with so much Indecency, and Rudeness, and in Language, so contrary, and offensive, that every Man would have thought, that as their Natures, and their Manners were as opposite as it is possible, so their Interest could never have been the same. In the End, his whole Carriage was so tempestuous, and his Behaviour so insolent, that the Chairman found himself obliged to reprehend him; and to tell him, if He proceeded in the same Manner, He would presently⁽⁴¹⁾ adjourn the Committee; and the next Morning complain to the House of him; which He never forgave; and took all Occasions afterwards to pursue him with the utmost Malice and Revenge, to his Death.

WHEN Mr. Hyde sat in the Chair, in the grand Committee of the House, for the Extirpation of Episcopacy, all that Party made great Court to him; and the House keeping those disorderly Hours, and seldom rising till after four of the Clock in the Afternoon, They frequently importuned him to dine with them, at Mr. Pym's Lodging, which was at Sir Richard Manly's House, in a little Court behind *Westminster Hall*; where He, and Mr. Hambden, Sir Arthur Haslerig, and two or three more, upon a Stock kept a Table, where They transacted much Business; and invited thither those, of whose Conversion They had any Hope.

ONE Day after Dinner, *Nathaniel Fiennes*, who that Day likewise dined there, asked Mr. Hyde, whether He would ride into the Fields, and take a little Air, it being a fine Evening; which the other consenting to, They sent for their Horses, and riding together in the Fields, between *Westminster* and *Chelsea*, Mr. *Fiennes* asked him, what it was that inclined him to adhere so passionately to the Church, which could not possibly be supported. He answered, that He could have no other Obligation than that of his own Conscience, and his Rea-

His Conversation with Nathaniel Fiennes.

Reason, that could move with him; for He had no Relation, or Dependance upon any Churchmen, that could dispose him to it; that He could not conceive, how Religion could be preserved without Bishops; nor how the Government of the State could well subsist, if the Government of the Church were altered; and asked him what Government They meant to introduce in its Place. To which He answered, that there would be Time enough to think of that; but assured him, and wished him to remember what He said, that if the King resolved to defend the Bishops, it would cost the Kingdom much Blood; and would be the Occasion of as sharp a War, as had ever been in *England*: For that there was a great Number of good Men, who resolved to lose their Lives, before They would ever submit to that Government. Which was the first positive Declaration He had ever heard from any particular Man of that Party; very few of them having at that Time that Resolution, much less avowing it; and if They had, the Kingdom was in no Degree at that Time infected with that Poison, how much soever it was spread afterwards.

WITHIN two Days after this Discourse from Mr. *Fiennes*, Mr. *Hyde*, walking between the Parliament House, and *Westminster*, in the Church-Yard met with *Harry Martin*, with whom He lived very familiarly; and speaking together about the Proceedings of the Houses, *Martin* told him, that He would undo himself by his adhering to the Court; to which He replied, that He had no Relation to the Court, and was only concerned to maintain the Government, and preserve the Law: And then told him He could not conceive what He proposed to himself, for He did not think him to be of the Opinion, or Nature with those Men, who governed the House; and asked him, what He thought of such, and such Men; and He very frankly answered, that

* F

He

And with
Harry Mar-
tin.

*Who owns
himself a Re-
publican.*

He thought them Knaves; and that when They had done as much as They intended to do, They should be used as They had used others. The other pressed him to say what He desired; to which, after a little Pause, He very roundly answered, *I do not think one Man wise enough to govern us all*: Which was the first Word He had ever heard any Man speak to that Purpose; and would without Doubt, if it had been then communicated, or attempted,⁽⁴²⁾ been the most abhorred by the whole Nation, of any Design that could be mentioned; and yet it appears it had even so early entered into the Hearts of some desperate Persons; that Gentleman being at that Time possessed of a very great Fortune, and having great Credit in his Country.

*Mr. Hyde is
sent for by the
King.*

WHILST Things were thus depending, one Morning, when there was a Conference with the Lords, and so the House adjourned, Mr. Hyde being walking in the House, Mr. Peircy, Brother to the Earl of Northumberland, being a Member of the House, came to him, and told him, that the King would speak with him, and would have him that Afternoon to come to him. He answered, He believed it was some Mistake, for that He had not the Honour to be known to the King; and that there was another of the same Name, of the House. Mr. Peircy assured him, He was the Man; and so it was agreed, that at such an Hour in the Evening, He should call on him at his Chamber; which He did, and was by him conducted into the Gallery, and so into the square Room; where He staid till the other went to the King; who in a very short Time came thither, attended only by Mr. Peircy, who as soon as Mr. Hyde had kissed his Majesty's Hand, withdrew.

*The King's
Discourse
with him.*

THE King told him, "that He heard from all Hands, how much He was beholden to him; and that when all his Servants in the House of Com-

"mons either neglected his Service, or could not appear usefully in it, He took all Occasions to do him Service; for which He thought fit to give him his own Thanks, and to assure him, that He would remember it to his Advantage." He took Notice of his Affection to the Church, for which, He said, "He thanked him more than for all the rest;" which the other acknowledged with the Duty that became him; and said, "He was very happy, that his Majesty was pleased with what He did; but if He had commanded him to have withdrawn his Affection, and Reverence for the Church, He would not have obeyed him;" which his Majesty said, made him love him the better. Then He discoursed of the Passion of the House; and of the Bill then brought in against Episcopacy; and asked him, "whether He thought They would be able to carry it;" to which He answered, "He believed They could not, at least, that it would be very long first." "Nay (replied the King) if you'll look to it, that They do not carry it before I go for *Scotland*, which will be at such a Time, when the Armies shall be disbanded, I will undertake for the Church after that Time: Why then (said the other) by the Grace of God, it will not be in much Danger:" With which the King was well pleased; and dismissed him with very gracious Expressions. And this was the first Introduction of him to the King's taking Notice of him.

AFTERWARDS in that Summer, during the Time of his Majesty's Stay in *Scotland*, Mr. Secretary *Nicholas* (who then kept the Signet, though He was not sworn Secretary till the King's Return) being very sick, sent to him, to desire to speak with him; whereupon He went to him to his House in *King's-Street*; and found him in his Bed: And the Business was wholly to shew him a Letter from the King to him, in which He writ to him, that He under-

stood by several Hands, that He was very much beholden to Mr. *Hyde*, for the great Zeal He shewed to his Service; and therefore commanded him to speak with him, and to let him know the Sense He had of it; and that when He returned, He would let him know it himself.

HAVING now taken a View of him from his⁽⁴³⁾ Birth; and through his whole Youth, and first Entrance into the Business of the World, in which He had great Success, and Prosperity (and if the Calm, in which He was born, and lasted so long, had continued, no Man could with more Probability have promised himself better Fortune, in the Profession to which He had dedicated himself) and having now brought him to be known to the King; and the Tempest that from the present foul Weather shortly after broke out, driving him from farther applying himself to, or prosecuting that Profession; and the Parliament making some short Recess, during the King's being in *Scotland*; we will here conclude the first Part of his Life, and enter upon the second; which will contain a more important Part; and in which We will mention no Particulars of that active Time, but such in which He had a signal Part; leaving the rest to the History of those great, and monstrous Actions.

Montpelier.

27th of March, 1669.

The

The LIFE of

EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON

From his Birth to the Restoration of the
ROYAL FAMILY in 1660.

PART the SECOND.

(44) **W**HEN the Remonstrance of the State of the Nation, and its particular Grievances, was (by Order of the House of Commons) printed, Mr. *Hyde*, only to give Vent to his own Indignation, and without the least Purpose of communicating it, or that any Use should be made of it, had drawn such a full Answer to it, as the Subject would have enabled any Man to have done, who had thought of it; and the Lord *Digby*, who had much Conversation, and Friendship with him, coming accidentally and suddenly into the Room, where He was alone amongst his Books and Papers; conferring together of the extravagant Proceedings of the Parliament, He, upon the Familiarity that was between them, and upon the Argument that was then between them, read the Answer to him which He had prepared to the Remonstrance; with which He seemed much pleased, and desired him that He would permit it to be made Use of by the King, and that He might shew it to his Majesty; who found it absolutely necessary to

*Mr. Hyde
draws up an
Answer to the
Parliament's
Remonstrance.*

publish some Answer in his own Name to that Remonstrance, which had so much poisoned the Hearts of the People; and that his Majesty was endeavouring to procure such an Answer to be drawn. The other expressly, and positively refused to give it him, or that any Use should be made of it; and reproached him for proposing a Thing to him, which might prove ruinous to him, if the House should have the least Imagination, that He exercised himself in such Offices: with which Answer He seemed satisfied, and departed: no other Person having seen it but the Lord *Falkland*, from whom Nothing was ever concealed.

WITHIN few Days after, the Lord *Digby*, with whom the King advised in the Business of the Parliament without Reserve, came again to him; and after some Apologies, told him freely, that very many had been with the King, desiring him that He would take Care that some Answer might be published to that Remonstrance; which had already done much Harm, and would do much more if it were not answered; and that the King had spoken to him; upon which He had confessed that He had seen an Answer, that pleased him very well;⁽⁴⁵⁾ but could not prevail with the Author of it to suffer it to be made Use of; and told him who it was: whereupon the King seemed to wonder very much, that a Person who had appeared so publickly in Defence of his Service, should be so wary of assisting him in private: and after many Expressions of Grace towards that Gentleman, his Majesty had commanded him to come in his Name to him; and to conjure him to send that Paper to him; and to give him his Royal Word, that no Person living should know that He had the least Hand in it; so that no Danger should accrue to him thereby.

MR.

MR. HYDE, though He was very unsatisfied with what the Lord *Digby* had done (whose Affection to him He did not in any Degree make Question of, but did not like his over Activity, to which his restless Fancy always disposed him; and as He doubted not, that himself had given the Occasion to the King to send those Commands, so he had likewise enlarged those Commands, as He believed, in such a Manner as He thought might most oblige him) yet upon the real Consideration that it might do the King much Service, He did without Delay deliver the Papers: insisting upon the Promise of Secrecy, and likewise, that his Majesty would not publish, without first communicating it to his Council, and as done with their Advice. And to that Purpose He affixed that Title to it, before He delivered the Papers out of his Hands; believing that as it would be more for the King's Service to carry such an Authority in the Front of it, as *The King's Answer with the Advice of his Council*; so it could not be refused by them, and yet might engage them in some Displeasure with the House of Commons, which probably might be offended at it. The King was very punctual in doing what was desired; and caused it to be read at a full Council; where many of the Lords commended it very much, and none spake against it; and so it was published and printed: and it was very apparent to all Men, that the King's Service was very much advanced by it: and it was not more evident to any, than to the House of Commons; who knew not how to make any Expostulation upon it, it being in the King's own Name, and published with the Advice of his Privy Council; so that all They could do, was to endeavour to discover who was the Penner of it; to which Discovery They were most intent by all their secret Friends in Court; who

Which by the King's Command is printed.

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found Means to discover most other Secrets to them, but in this could do them no Service.

As soon as the Lord *Falkland*, and Sir *John Colepepper* were called to the Privy Council, the King sent for Mr. *Hyde* to him, who had not seen his Majesty from the Time He had been presented by Mr. *Peirce*. He commanded the Lord *Digby* to bring him when it was Night to the Queen's back Stairs; and as soon as He was there, both King and Queen came into the Room; and when He had kissed their Hands, and the Lord *Digby* was withdrawn, the King told him "He was much beholden to him for many good Services; and that now He had preferred two of his Friends, it was Time to give him some Testimony of his Favour; and therefore He had sent to him to tell him, that He intended to make him his Solicitor-General, in the Place of him who had served him so ill." Mr. *Hyde* suddenly answered, "God forbid!" With which the King seeming surpris'd, said "why God forbid?" The other replied, "it was in no Degree fit at this Time that He should remove the other; and if He were removed, himself was in no Degree fit for it." The Queen said, "He ought not to suffer for his Modesty: She had heard Men who could judge well, say, that He was as fit for it as the other." Mr. *Hyde* said "that was an Argument that Gentleman thought⁽⁴⁶⁾ the other not fit for it, not that He believed him fit; which in Truth He said He was not. That it might be, that when the Place was actually void, the King might have filled it better with another Man, than with Mr. *St. John*; whose Parts were not above many others; and his Affections were below most Mens: But now that He was invested in that Office, it was not a good Conjunction to remove him; and when it should be, He did humbly advise his Majesty to make Choice of

Mr. Hyde
declines the
Office of Soli-
citor-General.

Part II. EDWARD *Earl of CLARENDON*.

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"of the ablest Man of the Profession, whose Affections were clear; by whom He might indeed have great Benefit; whereas himself was young, and without any of that Learning, or Experience, which might make him capable of that great Trust." The Queen saying again this was his Modesty, He replied, "Madam when you know me better, you will not find me so modest a Man, but that I hope by your Majesty's Favour in due Time to be made a better Man, than I am at present; but if you believe that I know any Thing of the Disposition of the present Time, or of what may conduce to the King's Service, I pray believe, that though the Solicitor will never do much Service, He will be able to do much more Mischiefe if He be removed." The King at the same Time resolved to remove another Officer, who did disserve him notoriously, and to prefer Mr. *Hyde* to that Place; with which their gracious Intention both their Majesties acquainted him; but He positively refused it; and assured both their Majesties, that He should be able to do much more Service in the Condition He was in.

BEFORE the King left *Whitehall* He renewed his Commands to the three Persons mentioned before, the Lord Viscount *Falkland*, Sir *John Colepepper*, and Mr. *Hyde*, to meet constantly together, and consult upon his Affairs; and conduct them the best Way They could in the Parliament; and to give him constant Advice what He was to do; without which He declared again very solemnly He would make no Step in the Parliament. Two of them were obliged by their Offices and Relations, and the other by his Duty, and Inclination, to give him all Satisfaction; notwithstanding the Discouragement They had so lately received, in the King's going to the House to demand the five Members, without ever communicating his Intention to them; and which

He is entrusted with the Conduct of the King's Affairs in Parliament.

had made a deep Impression upon them. And so They met every Night late together; and communicated their Observations, and Intelligence of the Day; and so agreed what was to be done, or attempted the next; there being very many Persons of Condition and Interest in the House, who would follow their Advice, and assist in any Thing They desired. And because Mr. *Hyde* had larger Accommodation in the House where He lived in *Westminster*, than either of the other had, the Meetings at Night were for the most Part with him; and after their Deliberation together, what was to be put in Writing was always committed to Mr. *Hyde*; and when the King had left the Town, He writ as freely to the King as either of the other did; and sometimes when They would be excused, He went to him in great Secret.

He had been from the Beginning very unbelov- ed by all the governing Party; and though They took some Pains at first to win him, yet their Hope of that was quickly desperate; and from the Night of the Protestation, He was as much in their Detestation as any Man; and the more, that They could take no Advantage against him: and though They had a better Opinion of his Discretion, than to believe He had any Share in the Advice of the late Proceedings, yet They were very willing that others should believe it; and made all the Infusions They could to that Purpose amongst those, who took their⁽⁴⁷⁾ Opinions from them; towards which his known Friendship with the Lord *Digby* was an Argument very prevalent; and then his opposing the Votes upon their Privilege, had inflamed them beyond their Temper; insomuch as Mr. *Hambden* told him one Day, that the Trouble that had lately befallen them, had been attended with that Benefit, that They knew who were their Friends: and the other offering to speak upon the Point of Privilege, and
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how monstrous a Thing it was to make a Vote so contrary to the known Law; He replied very snappishly, "that He well knew He had a Mind They should be all in Prison," and so departed without staying for an Answer. Then They imputed to him the disposing the Lord *Falkland* to serve the Court; and the Court to receive his Service; and from the Time that He, and *Colepepper* were called to the Council, They equally were enraged against both; and now, when They had discovered the Place of the nightly Meetings, that a Secretary of State, and a Chancellor of the Exchequer, every Day went to the Lodging of a private Person, who ought to attend them, They believed it a Condescension that had some other Foundation than mere Civility; yet They could not discover any Thing against them, which they thought fit to offer in Publick.

It is not amiss in this Place to say somewhat of those three Persons, who had from that Time so great a Part in the Business that was upon the Stage; and did in a short Time raise the Reputation of the King, and of his Cause, to a very great Degree; and who, though They were well united in the Opposition of all the ill Designs against the Crown; and concurred in the publick Service with necessary, and mutual Civilities towards each other; yet their Principles, and Constitutions were very different; and the Lord *Falkland*, and Mr. *Hyde* (between whom, as is said before, the Friendship was most entire) had never had the least Acquaintance with Sir *John Colepepper*, before the Parliament; and finding themselves often of one Opinion, grew into some Conversation; and being after united in the King's Trust, They rarely conferred but in the Agitation of Business; their Natures being in nothing like.

THE Lord *Falkland*, though He was a Man of a chearful Conversation, was of a severe Nature, and a Lover

*Some Account
of the Temper
and Principles
of Lord
Falkland.*

a Lover of Virtue; yet He had great Esteem for all Men of great Parts, though They applied them to ill Purposes. He was so great an Enemy to all Diffimulation, that He chose sometimes the other Extreme, when it was not requisite. He had not the Court in great Reverence; and had a presaging Spirit that the King would fall into great Misfortune: and often said to his Friend, that He chose to serve the King, because Honesty obliged him to it; but that He foresaw his own Ruin by doing it. He had a better Opinion of the Church of *England*, and the Religion of it, than of any other Church and Religion; and had extraordinary Kindness for very many Churchmen; and if He could have helped, or prevented it, there should have been no Attempts against it. But He had in his own Judgment such a Latitude in Opinion, that He did not believe any Part of the Order, or Government of it, to be so essentially necessary to Religion, but that it might be parted with, and altered, for a notable publick Benefit, or Convenience: and that the Crown itself ought to gratify the People, in yielding to many Things; and to part with some Power, rather than to run the Hazards, which would attend the Refusal. But He was swayed in this by a Belief, that the King would in the End be prevailed with to yield to what was pressed; and this Opinion wrought too much upon too many.

ALBEIT He had the greatest Compliance with⁽⁴⁾ the Weakness, and even the Humour of other Men, when there could be no Suspicion of Flattery; and the greatest Address to inform, and reform them; yet towards the King, who many Times obstinately adhered to many Conclusions, which did not naturally result from good Premises, and did love to argue many Things, to which He would not so positively adhere, He did not practise that Condescension; but contradicted him with more Bluntness, and

and by sharp Sentences; and in some Particulars (as of the Church) to which the King was in Conscience most devoted: and of this his Majesty often complained; and cared less to confer with him in private, and was less persuaded by him, than his Affairs, and the other's great Parts, and Wisdom would have required: though He had not a better Opinion of any Man's Sincerity, or Fidelity towards him.

SIR *John Colepepper* had spent some Years of his Youth in foreign Parts, and especially in Armies; where He had seen good Service, and very well observed it; and might have made a very good Officer, if He had intended it. He was of a rough Nature; a hot Head; and of great Courage; which had engaged him in many Quarrels, and Duels; wherein He still behaved himself very signally. He had in a very good Season, and after a small Waste of his Fortune, retired from that Course of Life, and married, and betook himself to a Country Life; and studied the Business of the Country, and the Concernments of it, in which He was very well versed; and being a Man of Sharpness of Parts, and Volubility of Language, He was frequently made Choice of to appear at the Council-Board, in those Matters which related to the Country: in the managing whereof, his Abilities were well taken Notice of. His Estate was very moderate, and his usual Expence exceeded it not; not being delighted with Delicacies of any Nature, or indeed ever acquainted with them. He had Infirmities, which sometimes made a Noise; but his Parts, and Abilities made him very acceptable to his Neighbours, and to those who were most considerable in their Estates, and most popular; so that with very little Opposition, He had been chosen to be Knight of that great County *Kent* for the Parliament; where He quickly made himself to be taken Notice of.

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He was proud, and ambitious, and very much disposed to improve his Fortune; which He knew well how to do, by Industry, and Thrift, without stooping to any corrupt Ways, to which He was not inclined.

He did not love the Persons of many of those who were the violent Managers; and less their Designs: and therefore He no sooner knew that He was well spoken of at Court, but He exposed himself to the Invitation, and heartily embraced that Interest: and when He came thither, He might very well be thought a Man of no very good Breeding; having never sacrificed to the Muses, or conversed in any polite Company. He was warm, and positive in Debates; and of present Fancy to object, and find Fault with what was proposed; and indeed would take any Argument in Pieces, and expose it excellently to a full View; and leave Nothing to Chance, or Accident, without making it foreseen; but after that, knew not so well what to judge, and determine; and was so irresolute, and had a Fancy so perpetually working, that after a Conclusion made, He would the next Day, in the Execution of it, and sometimes after, raise new Doubts, and make new Objections; which always occasioned Trouble; and sometimes produced Inconvenience.

In Matters of Religion, He was in his Judgment very indifferent; but more inclined to what was established, to avoid the Accidents which commonly attend a Change, without any Motives⁽⁴⁹⁾ from his Conscience; which yet He kept to himself; and was well content to have it believed that the Activity proceeded from thence. He had, with all this Uncourtlinefs (for sure no Man less appeared a Courtier) and Ungracefulness in his Mein, and Motion, a wonderful Insinuation and Address into the Acceptation, and Confidence of the King, and Queen; and Flattery being a Weed not so natural

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to the Air, and Soil of the Country, where He had wholly lived, He was believed to speak with all Plainness and Sincerity; when no Man more complied with those Infirmities they both had; and by that Compliance prevailed often over them.

He had a very tragical Way in expressing himself, to raise the Fears and Apprehensions of those, who were naturally apprehensive of Dangers: and by this Means He prevailed marvellously with the Queen, in those Matters to which She was most averse; by representing Things as dismally to her as He could well do: and on the other Hand, to the King (who was naturally very Sanguine) He was full of Compliance; cherished all his Hopes, and Imaginations; and raised and improved those Hopes very frequently by Expedients very unagreeable to the End proposed. He was then (as was said before) very positive in his Conclusions: as if He did not propose a Thing that might come to pass, but what infallibly must be so; which was a Temper the King could not contend with; and did so much suspect himself (which was his greatest Infirmary, and the chief Ground of all his Sufferings) that He did believe a Man of whom He thought very well, did know every Thing that He confidently insisted upon. But his greatest Advantage was (besides his Diligence in speaking as often as He could with the King, and Queen, and always with the Queen, upon any important Counsel) that He had an entire Confidence and Friendship with Mr. *John Ashburnham*, whom the King loved, and trusted very much; and who always imprinted that Advice in the King's Mind, which the other had infused; and being a Member of the House, was always ready to report the Service He did his Majesty there, as advantageously as the Business would bear.

Mr. *Hyde* was in his Nature and Disposition, different from both the other; which never begot the least

least Disagreement between the Lord *Falkland*, and him. He was of a very chearful, and open Nature; without any Dissimulation; and delivered his Opinion of Things or Persons, where it was convenient, without Reserve, or Disguise; and was at least tenacious enough of his Opinion, and never departed from it out of Compliance with any Man. He had a very particular Devotion and Passion for the Person of the King; and did believe him the most, and the best Christian in the World. He had a most zealous Esteem and Reverence for the Constitution of the Government; and believed it so equally poised, that if the least Branch of the Prerogative was torn off, or parted with, the Subject suffered by it, and that his Right was impaired: and He was as much troubled when the Crown exceeded it's just Limits, and thought it's Prerogative hurt by it: and therefore not only never consented to any Diminution of the King's Authority, but always wished that the King would not consent to it, with what Importunity or Impetuosity soever it was desired and pressed.

He had taken more Pains than such Men use to do, in the Examination of Religion; having always conversed with those of different Opinions with all Freedom, and Affection; and had very much Kindness and Esteem for many, who were in no Degree of his own Judgment; and upon all this, He did⁽⁵⁰⁾ really believe the Church of *England* the most exactly formed and framed for the Encouragement and Advancement of Learning, and Piety, and for the Preservation of Peace, of any Church in the World: That the taking away any of it's Revenue, and applying it to secular Uses, was Robbery, and notorious Sacrilege; and that the diminishing the Lustre it had, and had always had in the Government, by removing the Bishops out of the House of Peers, was a Violation of Justice; the removing
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a Land-mark ; and the shaking the very Foundation of Government ; and therefore He always opposed, upon the Impulsion of Conscience, all Mutations in the Church ; and did always believe, let the Season, or the Circumstances be what it would, that any Compliance was pernicious : And that a peremptory, and obstinate Refusal, that might put Men in Despair of what They laboured for, and take away all Hope of obtaining what They desired, would reconcile more Persons to the Government, than the gratifying them in Part ; which only whetted their Appetite to desire more, and their Confidence in demanding it.

THOUGH He was of a Complexion and Humour very far from Despair ; yet He did believe the King would be oppressed by that Party which then governed ; and that They who followed, and served him would be destroyed ; so that it was not Ambition of Power, or Wealth, that engaged him to embark in so very hazardous an Employment ; but abstractly the Consideration of his Duty ; and He often used to apply those Words of *Cicero*, to himself, *Mea Ætas incidit in id Bellum, cujus altera Pars Sceleris nimium habuit, altera Felicitatis parum*. It is very probable, that if his Access at that Time had been as frequent to the King, as Sir *John Colepeper's* was, or the Lord *Falkland's* might have been, some Things might have been left undone, the doing whereof brought much Prejudice to the King ; for all his Principles were much more agreeable to his Majesty's own Judgment, than those of either of the other ; and what He said was of equal Authority with him ; and when any Advice was given by either of the other, the King usually asked, "whether *Ned Hyde* were of that Opinion ;" and They always very ingenuously confessed, that He was not : But his having no Relation of Service, and so no Pretence to be seen often at Court ; and

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the great Jealousy that was entertained towards him, made it necessary to him to repair only in the Dark to the King upon emergent Occasions, and leave the Rest to be imparted by the other two : and the Differences in their Natures, and Opinions never produced any Disunion between them in those Councils which concerned the Conduct of the King's Service ; but They proceeded with great Unanimity ; and very manifestly much advanced the King's Business, from the very low State it was in, when They were first trusted ; the other two having always much Deference to the Lord *Falkland*, who allayed their Passions ; to which They were both enough inclined.

WHEN the two Bills were sent to the King, for *the granting the Militia*, and *the removing the Bishops out of the House of Peers*, most Men did believe that the King would never give his Assent to either of these two ; though very many had concurred in them for no other Reason, than because They were assured He would not refuse ; and others upon Confidence that He would ; and therefore would not render themselves obnoxious by opposing them. Upon all which the Queen continued her Resolution ; and hastened her Journey that She might be out of the Way, and thereby the King might the more resolutely reject those Bills, which He intended to do ; and the Houses the more importunately pressed the Dispatch of the Bills, as soon as the Day was appointed for the Queen's beginning her Journey from *Windſor* towards *Dover*.

In this Perplexity, when nothing was so necessary as the most obstinate Resolution, Sir *John Colpepper*, who was naturally inclined to Expedients ; and in difficult Cases, that is, Cases made difficult by the Perverseness of supercilious Contenders, to Composition, much desired, that the King would pass that against the Bishops, and absolutely reject the

the other; which He did in Truth believe would satisfy so many, that those that remained unsatisfied, would not have Credit enough, to give any further Disturbance; and in his own Judgment, as hath been said before, He thought the Matter of little Importance; but He knew that Argument would make no other Impression upon the King, than to the Disadvantage of the Arguer; and if He had thought himself obliged to have enacted one, He would have chosen to have passed that for the Militia, rather than the other; He urged therefore to the King, no other Person present, the Necessity of giving the Parliament Satisfaction in one of those Bills; and that there were more who would be satisfied with that concerning the Bishops, than with the other concerning the Militia; and therefore it would be best to gratify the major Part. Then He exposed the dreadful Consequences which would attend the yielding in the Point of the Militia; as if it would be the next Day in their Power to depose him; and all the tragical Effects of granting that Authority. He seemed in no Degree to undervalue the Mischief of consenting to the Bill against the Bishops; yet that it would be attended with that present Benefit, that the Church would be free from farther Apprehension; and that this Degradation would secure the Function, and the Revenue; and that when these Jealousies, and Misunderstandings should be once composed, that Bill would be easily repealed, by the Experience how much the Government was hurt by it; and whilst the Sword remained in the King's own Hand, there would be no Attempt to make farther Alterations. The King asked him, whether *Ned Hyde* was of that Mind; to which He answered, He was not, nor did wish that either of the Bills should be passed, which He thought as the Time was, could not be a reasonable Judgment;

*Sir John
Colepepper
advises the
King to pass
the Bill a-
gainst the
Bishops.*

the King said, *it was his; and that He would run the Hazard.*

WHEN He found He could not prevail there, He went to the Queen; and repeated all the Arguments He had used to the King, with his usual Vehemence; and added, that He exceedingly apprehended that by some Means or other, upon this Refusal of the King's, her Majesty's Journey would be stopped; and that She would not be suffered to transport herself out of the Kingdom; and therefore He heartily wished that She would so use her Credit with the King, that He might pass that Act concerning the Bishops, which He said would lay such an Obligation upon both Houses, as would redound to her Majesty's Advantage. The Queen was so terrified with the Apprehension of her being hindered from pursuing her Purpose, that She gave not over her Importunity with the King, till She had prevailed with him; and so that Bill for removing the Bishops out of the House of Peers was passed by Commission; when both their Majesties were upon their Way, and in their Journey to *Dover.*

Who is prevailed on by the Queen to do so.

NOTHING that is here said must reflect upon the Memory of Sir *John Colepepper*, as if He were corrupted in his Affections to the Church, or gave this Advice to gratify and please other Men, or for any particular Advantage to himself, of all which He was very innocent. It is said before, that in his Judgment He looked upon the Thing as what might be conscientiously consented to; and then his real^(s) Apprehension of Danger, and Mischief to the King (to whom He bore all possible Fidelity) by refusing it, so far wrought upon his warm Constitution, that He did really believe it to be his Duty to be solicitous to the vehement Degree He was. But He quickly found He had been deceived, at least in the

the Imagination, that the consenting to that one Bill would at all allay their Passion. They were on the contrary so far from being pleased with it, that They immediately betook themselves to enquire, "who the evil Counsellors were, who dissuaded his Majesty from consenting to the other concerning "the Militia;" which was so necessary to all their Purposes: And forthwith sent some of their Messengers to the King, whilst He staid at *Dover*, to complain of such evil Counsel; and to use all Importunity, that He would pass it, as a Matter of absolute Necessity for the Peace, and Security of the Kingdom; and for the carrying on the Service for suppressing the Rebellion in *Ireland*; with many new Expressions "of "the Presumption of those malignant Persons, who "gave his Majesty such Advice," and with Boldness enough, that the King should prefer such Advice, before the Wisdom of the Parliament.

THEY who hated the Bishops most, and were glad that They were rid of the Opposition They gave them in all their Demands, seemed not at all contented; but enlarged exceedingly upon the Mis- chief, in not granting the Militia. And no Doubt there were many the less pleased with the passing the other, in doubt, that They should thereby lose the Assistance of very many towards the utter Ex- tirpation of Episcopacy, and the Disposal of all Church Lands, upon which their Hearts were set; and who would with the more Choler have concurred with them, if that Bill, as well as the other, had been rejected; and therefore They rather wished They had the other, which They knew would bring all their Ends to pass. They who loved the Church, and were afraid of so great an Alteration in the Frame and Constitution of Parliament, as the utter taking away of one of the *Three Estates*, of which the Parliament is compounded, were infinitely provoked; and lamented the passing that Act, as

an Introduction to the entire Destruction of the Government of the Church, and to the Alteration of the Religion of the Kingdom: And very many who more considered the Policy, than the Justice, and Piety of the State, did ever after believe, that being removed out of the Parliament, the preserving them in the Kingdom, was not worth any notable Contention. Then They looked upon the King's Condescension in this Particular, in a Subject that all Men knew had a wonderful Influence upon his Conscience, as He often took Occasion to profess, as a Manifestation, that He would not be constant in retaining, and denying any Thing that should be impetuously, and fiercely demanded; which as it exceedingly confirmed those, who were engaged in that Party; so it abated the Courage of too many, who had always opposed them, and heartily detested their Proceedings; and made them more remiss in their Attendance at the House; and less solicitous for any Thing that was done there: Who by degrees first became a neutral Party, believing They should be safe, in angering no Body; and when They afterwards found no Security in that Indifferency, They adhered to those, who They saw had the best Success; and so went Sharers with them in their Future Attempts, according to their several Tempers, and Inclinations.

THE Benefit that would redound to the King from not passing the other Bill of the Militia, more than avoiding the Infamy of consenting to it, was not evident to discerning Men; for They foresaw⁽⁵¹⁾ that They would quickly wrest it out of his Hands without his Consent; and that the Reputation of the Parliament was so great, that whatsoever the two Houses (which the People looked upon as the Parliament) should concur in, and enjoin to be done, the People would look upon as Law, and observe it accordingly; so that when by the Removal

removal of so many Voices out of the House of Peers, as the Bishops made, who were always firm to the Crown, and Government, the House of Commons found a Concurrence from the Lords, in all They proposed, their joint Determination would find Obedience, for the most Part, from the People: Whom there were all Endeavours used to corrupt, and possess, by presently printing, and causing to be read in Churches, all their Messages, and Petitions to the King; that They might see all their Concernments were for the Good of the Kingdom, and Preservation of the People.

WHEN the King accompanied the Queen to *Dover*, where They expected a Wind many Days, He sent the Prince, under his new Governour, the Marquis of *Hertford*, to *Richmond*; that there might be no Room for the Jealousy, that the Prince should be transported beyond the Seas; which had been infused into the Minds of many; and would have made a great Noise, if He had waited upon his Mother to *Dover*: But as soon as the Wind appeared hopeful for her Majesty's Embarkation, the King sent ^{The King sends for the Prince to} an Express to *Richmond*, that the Prince should attend his Majesty at *Greenwich*, the Saturday following: The Marquis being at that Time very much indisposed by a Defluction upon his Eyes, and a Catarrh. The Parliament being presently informed, as They had Spies in all Places, of this Direction, and there being yet no Certainty of the Queen's being embarked, was much troubled; and resolved to send to his Majesty, by Members of both Houses, to desire that the Prince might not remove from *Richmond*, at least till the Marquis recovered Health enough to be able to attend him; and at the same Time sent an express Order to the Marquis, that He should not suffer the Prince to go from thence, till He himself should be able to go with him.

Mr. Hyde is
sent to the
King on that
Occasion.

THEY appointed one Lord, and two Commoners to carry the Message to the King, whom They believed to be still at *Dover*; and Mr. *Hyde* coming accidentally into the House, when the Matter was in Debate, They appointed him to be one of the Messengers; which no Excuses could free him from, for They did not intend it as a Favour to him; so that They were obliged presently to begin their Journey; and that Night They went to *Gravesend*. The next Day They were fully informed of the Queen's being gone to Sea; and that the King would be that Night at *Canterbury*; whither the Messengers made what Haste They could; and found his Majesty there, with a very little Court, most of his Servants having Leave to go before to *London*, the better to provide themselves for a farther Journey. When They read their Message to the King, in the hearing whereof He shewed no Satisfaction, He appointed them to attend him after He had supped, and They should receive their Answer: And accordingly about nine of the Clock He caused it to be read, and delivered it to them; taking no Notice of Mr. *Hyde* as if He had been known to him. That Messenger who was a Member of the House of Peers, received it from his Majesty, as of Right He ought to do, that it might be first reported to that House.

MR. *Hyde* was very much troubled when He heard the Answer read; for it had much Sharpness in it, which at that Time could only provoke them: So without taking any Notice of it to his Companions, He pretended to them only to be very weary, and desirous to go to Bed, and bade them good Night; having the Conveniency offered him by the Lord *Grandison* (his familiar Friend) to lodge with him in a House next the Court: And so the other two Messengers making Haste to find some Lodging in an Inn; He sent the Lord *Grandison* to the Duke

Duke of *Richmond*, to desire the King that He might speak with him before He went into his Bed. The King was half undressed, yet said that He would stay for him, and bade that He should make Haste to the back Stairs; and as soon as He came thither, the Duke went in to the King, who immediately came out in his Night Dress; and the Duke having before sent all other Servants from thence, retired likewise himself.

He told the King that "He was sorry that his Majesty had expressed so much Displeasure in his Answer; which could produce no Good, and might do Harm; and therefore He desired He would call for it, and alter some Expressions;" which his Majesty was not inclined to do; enlarging himself with much Sharpness upon the Insolence of the Message, and of the Order They had sent to the Marquis of *Hertford*: And seemed to apprehend that the Prince would not be suffered to attend him at *Greenwich*; the Thought whereof had caused that Warmth in him. It was now *Friday* Night, and his Majesty resolved the next Night to be at *Greenwich*; and to stay there all *Sunday*; and then to pursue his former Resolutions: Upon which Mr. *Hyde* told him, "that He hoped the Prince would be at *Greenwich* as soon as He, and then that Point would be cleared; that They could not report his Message to the Parliament till *Monday* Morning; and that They might well attend upon his Majesty again on *Sunday*, and receive his Pleasure; and at that Time the Lord *Falkland*, and Sir *John Colepepper* would be likewise present; when his Majesty might take what Resolution He pleased in that Matter; and therefore He besought his Majesty that He would presently send a Servant to the other two Messengers, at such an Inn, for the Answer He had delivered to them, of which He would farther consider when He

"came

On whom He
prevails to al-
ter his An-
swer to the
Parliament.

“came to *Greenwich*; where He commanded them to attend him on *Sunday*, and that He would dispatch them soon enough for them to be at *London* that Night.” All which his Majesty was pleased to consent to, and immediately sent a Gentleman to them for the Paper, with that Injunction; and then sent it by the Lord *Grandison* the same Night to Mr. *Hyde*, whom He had commanded to attend him on *Sunday* Morning, saying He had very much to say to him.

WHEN his Majesty came to *Greenwich*, He found the Prince there with his Governour, who though indisposed in his Health, without returning any Answer to the Parliament, brought the Prince very early from *Richmond* to *Greenwich*; with which the King was very much pleased, and in very good Humour. And the next Morning when Mr. *Hyde* came to Court (to whom his Companions had told, that the King had sent for his Answer to them again; and appointed them to attend him for it at *Greenwich* that Afternoon; which They had agreed together to do) the King being come into the Privy Chamber, and seeing him there, asked him aloud, where the others who came in the Message with him were, and said, He would expect them in the Afternoon; and so discoursing somewhat of the Weather, that all Men heard, He came near him, and as it were passing by (which no Body took Notice of, the Room not being full) He bade him dine with *Porter*, at the back Stairs, that He might be in the Privy Chamber when He rose from Dinner; (ss) and after He had dined He found him there; and at that Hour most People looking after their own Dinner, his Majesty did without any Body's taking Notice of it, bid him follow him into the Privy Gallery; where He was no sooner entered, than the King locked the Door with his own Key, saying, “we will not now be disturbed, for there is no Man

"Man in the House now, who hath a Key to this Door." Then He said, "I will say Nothing of the Answer, for I am sure *Falkland*, and *Colepepper* will be here anon; and then prepare one, and I will not differ with you; for now I have got ten *Charles*, I care not what Answer I send to them."

THEN He spake of many Particulars of the Parliament with Warmth enough; and lamented his having consented to the Bill concerning the Bishops, which He said, He was prevailed upon to do, for his Wife's Security; but He should now be without any Fear to displease them. He said, He would lay the next Night at *Theobalds*; where He would stay a Day or two, that his Servants might provide themselves to attend him Northward: That He should not see him any more before He took that Journey; and therefore He required him upon all Occasions to write to him, and advertise him of such Matters as were fit for him to know; and to prepare, and send him Answers to such Declarations, or Messages as the Parliament should send to him. He said, He knew well the Danger He underwent if it were discovered: But his Majesty assured him, and bade him be confident of it, that no Person alive, but himself and his two Friends, should know that He corresponded with his Majesty; and that He would himself transcribe every Paper in his own Hand, before He would shew it to any Man, and before his Secretary should write it out. Mr. *Hyde* told him, that He writ a very ill Hand, which would give his Majesty too much Trouble to transcribe himself, and that He had so much Friendship with Secretary *Nicholas*, that He was well contented He should be trusted: To which the King said *Nicholas* was a very honest Man, and He would trust him in any Thing that concerned himself; but in this Particular, which would be so penal to the other,

other, if it should be known, it was not necessary; for He would quickly learn to read the Hand, if it were writ at first with a little the more Care; and no Body should see it but himself. And his Majesty continued so firm to this Resolution, that though the Declarations from the Houses shortly after grew so voluminous, that the Answers frequently contained five, or six Sheets of Paper, very closely writ; his Majesty always transcribed them with own Hand; which sometimes took him up two, or three Days, and a good Part of the Night, before He produced them to the Council; where they were first read, and then He burned the Originals. And He gave himself no Ease in this Particular, till Mr. *Hyde* left the Parliament, and by his Majesty's Command attended upon him at *York*: Which will be mentioned in it's Time.

WHILST the King held this Discourse with him in the Privy Gallery, many of the Lords were come from *London*; and not finding him, the Earls of *Essex*, and *Holland*, who by their Offices had Keys to the Gallery, opened that Door, and went in; and seeing no Body there, walked to the farther End; where in a turning Walk the King and Mr. *Hyde* were: And though They presently drew back, the King himself as well as Mr. *Hyde* was a little discomposed; and said, "I am very sorry for this Accident, I meant to have said somewhat to you of those Gentlemen; but we must not stay longer together; forget not what I have said; and send me presently the Answer for your Message, and⁽⁵⁶⁾ then attend with your Companions in the Privy Chamber, and I will come out and deliver it to them:" and so He withdrew: The two Earls smiling, and saluting Mr. *Hyde* civilly. He quickly found the Lord *Falkland*, and *Colepepper*, and They as quickly agreed upon the Answer which the Lord *Falkland* carried to the King: And his Majesty

Where He
drawn up the
King's Answer.

Majesty approving, and signing it, He came out, and delivered it, after He had caused it to be read, to the Messengers who attended to receive it; and who went that Night to *London*; and the next Morning at the first sitting of the Houses, reported, and delivered it.

It was expected, and believed, that as soon as the Queen was gone for *Holland*, the King would return to *Whitehall*, and reside there. And many wise Men were of Opinion, that if He had done so, He would have been treated with more Duty and Respect; and that He would be able to bring his Business to a fair End, by very moderate Condescensions; for the universal Prejudice and Aversion was to the Queen, how unjustly and unreasonably soever; and to the King only as it was generally believed, that He governed himself entirely by her Dictates; and many of those, whose Countenance had most supported the violent Party, by their Concurrence with them, were grown weary of those Excesses; and as They had been seduced, and craftily drawn farther than They meant to have gone, so They plainly discerned that there would be farther Attempts made, than were agreeable to their Wishes, or their Interests; and therefore resolved to second them no farther.

THE *Earl of Essex* himself was in his Nature an honest Man, and a Man of Honour, and though He did not think the King had any gracious Purposes towards him, or great Confidence in him, yet He was willing to retire from that angry Company; and did neither desire the Dignity of the King should be affronted; or the Government receive an Alteration, or Diminution; and did hope nothing more, than to make himself the Instrument to reconcile the Parliament to the King, by some moderate and plausible Expedient. But it was no sooner known in the Houses, that his Majesty was gone to *Theobalds*, and had
taken

taken the Prince with him, with a Purpose of making a Progress farther Northward; but They fell into all their usual Heat, and Debate, of their just Causes of Jealousy and Distrust, and the Wickedness of those Persons who misled him; and the next Morning, being well informed that the King staid all Day at *Theobalds*, They resolved to send a Committee of four Lords, and eight Commoners to him, to put him in mind of his violating their Privileges, for which They had yet no Reparation or Satisfaction; his Refusal to settle the Militia, whereby He left his Kingdom and People exposed to the Violence of a Foreign Enemy, or a domestick Insurrection; the great Jealousies, and Fears which possessed the Minds of all his Subjects, which would be now exceedingly increased by his Removal in this Conjunction from his Parliament; and thereupon concluded, that He would return to *London*, or reside at such a Distance, that They might easily repair to him.

WHEN the Persons designed for the Message withdrew to prepare themselves for their Journey, the Message being read, and agreed upon, Mr. *Hyde* went likewise out of the House; and that the King might not be surprized with the Sight of the Message before He heard of it, He sent instantly to the Lord *Grandison* (in whom He had entire Confidence) to speak with him; and desired him to cause his Horse to be made ready, that He might with all possible Expedition carry a letter to the King, which He would prepare by the Time He could be ready for the Journey. He writ to the King, that such Persons would be presently with him; and the Substance of the Message They would bring to him; which in Respect of the Length of it, and of many Particulars in it, would require some Time to answer, which He should receive soon enough; and for the present, He might upon the Delivery, make some

*His Advice to
the King upon
a Message
from the two
Houses.*

some

some short Resentment of the Houses proceeding with him; and conclude, that He would send an Answer to their Message in due Time. The Lord *Grandison* came to *Theobalds* when the King had newly dined, so that He was alone in his Bedchamber; and as soon as He had delivered the Letter, He returned to *London*, and met the Messengers within a Mile, or two of *Theobalds*.

As soon as They had delivered their Message, which one of them read, the King with a displeased Countenance, and in a warmer, and more sprightly Tone than was natural to him, told them, "that He was amazed at their Message, and could not conceive what They would have, nor what They meant to do: That They made a great Noise with their Privileges, but forgot that He had Privileges too, which They made no Conscience to violate: That They talked of their Fears, and Jealousies, for which They had not the least Ground; but if They would well consider, They would find that They gave him Cause enough for Jealousy:" and concluded, "that He would think of their Message, and send an Answer to the Houses in convenient Time:" without saying any Thing of his Journey, when, or whither He meant to go; nor held any farther Discourse with them. The Manner, and the Matter of the King's short Discourse to them, wonderfully surpris'd the Messengers, who were all Persons of the best Quality in both Houses, the Earl of *Pembroke* being the Chief, and some of them were of known Affections to his Majesty's Service; who were wonderfully delighted with the King's quick and sharp Treatment, with which the rest were as much troubled: And so They all returned the same Night to *London*.

THE King resolv'd to pursue the Course agreed upon with the Queen at her Departure; and would no more resume the Consideration of staying nearer the

the Parliament: Very reasonably apprehending, that He should render himself liable every Day to new Affronts. And the Practice both Houses had gotten, to send for Persons by a Serjeant at Arms, upon any Suggestions of light Discourse, or upon general, and ungrounded Suspicions, by which They were compelled to give long Attendance, if They were not committed to Prison, had so terrified all Conditions of Men, that very few resorted to the Court. And They who did most diligently seem to attend their Duty there, did in truth perform that Service, that They might with the more Ease betray their Master, and gratify those, who They thought would at last bring themselves into those Places and Offices, upon which They were to depend. So that He thought it most absolutely necessary to be at such a Distance from *Westminster*, that People might be less apprehensive of their Power: Resolving likewise, that no Person who attended him, or resorted to the Place where He was, should yield any Obedience to their Summons, upon those general Suggestions; or any Applications They should make to his Majesty. And though it might have met with better Success if He had taken the contrary Resolution, and staid in, or near *Whitehall*; yet the Hazards, or Inconveniences which might very probably have attended that Counsel, were too much in View, for wise Men to engage positively in the Advice. Besides, the Concert that had been made with the Queen, shut out all opposite Consultations: And the King with a small Court, after two Days Stay at *Theobalds*, began his Progress towards *Newmarket*; and sometimes resting a Day^(s) in a Place, He advanced by easy Journies Northward.

The King begins his Progress Northward.

He took the Prince with him, the Marquis likewise attending him; but left the Duke of *York* still at *Richmond*, till He came to *York*: And then likewise

wife He sent for his Highness, who came thither to him: And the Morning He left *Theobalds*, He sent his Answer to the two Houses, to their Message They had sent to him thither.

THEY had long detested, and suspected Mr. *Hyde*, from the Time of their first Remonstrance, for framing the King's Messages, and Answers, which They now every Day received, to their intolerable Vexation; yet knew not how to accuse him. But now that the Earls of *Essex*, and *Holland* had discovered his being shut up with the King at *Greenwich*; and the Marquis of *Hamilton* had once before, found him very early in Private with the King at *Windsor*, at a Time when the King thought all Passages had been stopped; together with his being of late more Absent from the House, than He had used to be; and the Resort of the other Two every Night to his Lodging, as is mentioned before, satisfied them that He was the Person; and They resolved to disenable him to manage that Office long. Sir *John Colepepper* had as many Eyes upon them, as They had upon the other, and an equal Animosity against them; and had Familiarity and Friendship with some Persons, who from the second, or third Hand came to know many of the greatest Designs, before they were brought upon the Stage. For though They managed those Councils with the greatest Secrecy, and by few Persons, which amounted to no more than pure Designs in Speculation; yet when any Thing was to be transacted in publick by the House, They were obliged, not only to prepare those, of whom They were themselves confident, but to allow those Confidants to communicate it to others, in whom They confided: And so Men who did not concur with them, came to know sometimes their Intentions, Time enough to prevent the Success They proposed to themselves.

* H

AND

*A Design of
sending Mr.
Hyde to the
Tower;*

AND by this Means Sir *John Colepepper* meeting at Night with the Lord *Falkland*, and Mr. *Hyde*, assured them, that it had been resolved that Day to have seized upon all three, and sent them to the *Tower*: Of which He having received Notice as He was going to the House, returned to his Lodging; not being able to give the same Information to the other two; but that his own being absent prevented the Mischief. For He knew it was resolved the Night before, that when the Three were together in the House, Somebody should move the House, "that They would apply themselves to make some "strict Enquiry after the Persons, who were most "like to give the King the evil Counsel He had "lately followed; and who prepared those Answers, "and Messages They received from his Majesty;" upon which by one, and another, those three Persons should be named, and particular Reasons given for their Suspicion; and that They did not doubt, but if their Friends were well prepared before hand, They should be able to cause them to be all sent to the *Tower*; and then They doubted not They should be able to keep them there. But it was then likewise agreed, that They would not make the Attempt, but at a Time when They were all three in the House; upon hearing whereof, and finding that They two were there, He went back to his Lodging; knowing that thereupon there would be nothing done.

Defeated.

UPON this Communication, though They were all of Opinion that the Design was so extravagant, and exceeding all the Rules of common Justice, that They would not be able to procure the Consent of the major Part of the House in it, if there were any⁽⁵⁹⁾ considerable Number present; yet because very many usually absented themselves; and They were not governed by any Rules which had been formerly observed; They thought fit to resolve that one of them would

would be always present in the House, that They might know all that was done; but that They would never be there altogether; and seldom two of them; and when They were, They would only hear, and speak no more than was of absolute Necessity. For it was now grown a very difficult Thing for a Man, who was in their Disfavour, to speak against what They proposed, but that They would find some Exception to some Word, or Expression; upon which, after He had been called upon to explain, He was obliged to withdraw, and then They had commonly a major Part to send him to the *Tower*, or to expel him the House; or at least to oblige him to receive a Reprehension at the Bar upon his Knees. And so They had used Sir *Ralph Hopton* at that Time; who excepting to some Expression that was used in a Declaration prepared by a Committee, and presented to the House, which He said was dishonourable to the King, They said, it was a Tax upon the Committee; caused him to withdraw; and committed him to the *Tower*; which terrified many from speaking at all; and caused more to absent themselves from the House; where too small Numbers appeared any Day. These three Gentlemen kept the Resolution agreed upon, till They all found it necessary to forbear any farther Attendance upon the House.

ABOUT the End of *April*, which was in the Year 1642, Mr. *Hyde* received a Letter from the King, wherein He required him, that as soon as He could be spared from his Business there, He should repair to his Majesty at *York*, where He had Occasion for his Service: Which when He had communicated to his two Friends, They were all of Opinion, that it was necessary He should defer that Journey for some Time; there being every Day great Occasion of consulting together, and of sending Dispatches to the King. And it was a wonderful Expedition

Mr. Hyde is sent for by the King to York,

petition that was then used between *York*, and *London*, when Gentlemen undertook the Service, as enough were willing to do: Insomuch, as when They dispatched a Letter on *Saturday* Night, at that Time of the Year, about twelve at Night, They received always the King's Answer, *Monday* by ten of the Clock in the Morning. His Majesty was content that He should stay as long as the Necessity required; but that as soon as He might be dispensed with, He would expect him. And it was happy that He did stay, for there was an Occasion then fell out, in which his Presence was very useful, * *towards disposing the Lord Keeper Littleton to send the Great Seal to the King at York; and to resolve upon going thither himself as soon as possible to attend his Majesty; which Resolution being taken*, it was agreed between him and his two Friends, that it was now Time that He should be gone (the King having sent for him some Time before) after a Day or two; in which Time the Declaration of the 19th of *May* would be passed, which being very long, He might carry with him; and prepare the Answer upon the Way, or after He came to *York*.

*Towards
which He
begins his
Journey.*

It was upon a *Wednesday* that He resolved to begin his Journey; having told the Speaker, that it was very necessary, by the Advice of his Physician, that He should take the Air of the Country for his Health; and his Physician certified the same; which Caution was necessary: For He had a Week or two before made a Journey into the Country to his own House; and his Absence being taken Notice of, a Messenger was immediately sent to him, to require⁽⁶⁾ him immediately to attend the House; upon which He found it necessary to return without Delay; and was willing to prevent the like sudden Enquiry; and so prepared the Speaker to answer for him. He

* History of the Rebellion. Folio. Vol. I. p. 444, &c.

resolved

resolved with the Lord *Falkland*, to stay at a Friend's House near *Oxford*, and little out of the Road He meant to take for *York*, till He should hear of the Keeper's Motion, of which He promised to give him timely Notice; not giving in the mean Time any Credit to his Purpose of moving; but He was quickly convinced.

MUCH Notice had been taken of Mr. *Hyde's* frequent Resort to him; and of his being often shut up with him; and when He took his Leave of him, the Night before He left the Town, the Keeper was walking in his Garden with Mr. *Hollis*, and Mr. *Glyn*; who had (as They said) then observed, that as soon as the Keeper's Eyes were upon him, at his Entrance into the Garden, He had shewn some Impatience to be free from them; and when They were gone, others took Notice (for there were many in the Garden) as They pretended, that after They had walked some Time together, They took their Leave of each other in another Manner than was usual; and which was not true. But He had not so good a Name, as that any Thing of that Kind would not easily gain Belief: So that Dr. *Morley* (who is since Bishop of *Winchester*) being in *Westminster Hall* on the Monday Morning when the News came of the Lord Keeper's Flight, a Person of great Authority in the Parliament met him, and, with great Passion inveighing against the Keeper, told him that They knew well enough that his Friend Mr. *Hyde* had contrived that Mischief, and brought it to pass; for which He would be that Morning, or the next, accused of High Treason; which the Doctor (who was ever very much his Friend) hearing, went presently to the Lord *Falkland*, and told him of it, and desired to know where He was, that He might give him timely Notice of it; knowing a Gentleman a very near Friend of his, who would immediately ride to him. The

Lord Falkland was then writing to him to inform him of the Keeper's having made good his Word, of which He had but then Notice; and to advise him to prosecute his northern Journey with all Expedition; and desired the Doctor that He would send for the Gentleman, whom He would presently direct where He should find Mr. Hyde; who did make so good Haste, that He delivered the Lord Falkland's Letter to him early the same Night.

And after a
short Stay at
Ditchley

He was then at *Ditchley* with the Lady Lee (since Countess of *Rocheſter*) and the Person who brought the Advertisement to him was *John Ayliffe*, whom He dearly loved. He no ſooner received the Advertisement, but He thought it Time for him to be gone; and as He was utterly unacquainted with the Way, having never been in the northern Parts, and apprehended that there would be Care taken to intercept him if He went in any common Road, there was with him at that Time Mr. *Chillingworth*, whose Company He had desired from *Oxford*, purposely for that Occasion; and who was well acquainted with those Ways, which led almost as far as *Yorkſhire*. They ſent their Horſes that Night to a Village near *Coventry*, where Mr. *Chillingworth's* Brother had a Farm; and then in the Morning They put themſelves into the Lady's Coach; which with ſix Horſes carried them to that Village, thirty Miles from *Ditchley*; where after They had a little reſreſhed themſelves, They took their Horſes; and that Night, out of all Roads, reached *Lutterworth*, a Village in *Leiceſterſhire*, where Mr. *Chillingworth* had likewise a Friend, who was Parſon of the Pariſh, who received them kindly. And ſo by unuſual Ways They got through *Derbyſhire*, until They came to *Yorkſhire*; and then reſted at *Neſtall*, the Houſe of Sir *John Worſtenholme*; who though He and his Family were at *London*, had given Order for his very good Reception; it having been before reſolved

Arrives at
Neſtall.

solved with his Majesty's Consent, that He should stay in some private Place near *York*, till his Majesty was informed of it; and till his Affairs absolutely required his Presence there; there being many Reasons that He should be concealed in those Parts, as long as might be convenient. *Nostall* was within twenty Miles of *York*; and from thence He gave his Majesty Notice of his being there; and sent him the Answer that was prepared to the Declaration of the nineteenth of *May*. And the King the next Day sent Mr. *Asburnham* to him, with the Declaration of the twenty sixth of *May*, and which was the highest They had yet published; and to which He wished an Answer should be prepared as soon as possible it might be, that the Poison thereof might not work too long upon the Minds of the People.

As soon as it was taken Notice of in the Parliament that Mr. *Hyde* was absent, Enquiry was made, what was become of him, and a Motion made in the House, that He might be sent for. The Speaker said, that He had acquainted him with his going into the Country to recover his Indisposition which troubled him, by fresh Air; and that Dr. *Winston* his Physician was with him, and informed him, that He was troubled with the Stone; and that his having sat so much in the House, in that very hot Weather had done him much Harm; and therefore that He had advised him to refresh himself in the Country Air; with which Testimony They were for the present satisfied; though Mr. *Peard* said confidently, "that He was troubled with no other Stone, than the Stone in his Heart; and therefore He would have him sent for wherever He was; for He was most confident that He was doing them Mischief, wherever He was." But He prevailed not, till their Committee from *York* sent them Word, that He was come thither,

and almost always with the King. It is said before, that He staid at *Nostall* at the House of Sir *John Worstenholme*, from whence He sent every Day to the King, and received his Majesty's Commands; and He intended to have staid longer there, where He could better intend, and dispatch any Business He was to do; and He was willing for some Time not to be seen at *York*, which He knew would quickly be taken Notice of at *Westminster*.

WHEN He came first thither, He found that the King was not satisfied with the Lord Keeper, which gave him much Trouble; his Majesty having sent him Word that He did not like his Humours, nor know what to make of him. Mr. *Elliot* who had brought the Seal to the King, to magnify his own Service, and not imagining that the Keeper intended to follow him, had told many Stories; as if the Keeper had refused to deliver the Seal, and that He got it by Force, by having locked the Door upon him, and threatened to kill him, if He would not give it to him, which upon such his Manhood He did for pure Fear consent unto. And his Tale got so much Credit with the King that He hardly disbelieved it, when He came himself; though it was in the Nature of it very improbable, that a single Man, by another Man as strong as himself (who was attended by many Servants in the next Room) should be suffered to shut the Door upon him, and to extort that from him, which He had no Mind to part with; and afterwards to go out of his House, when there were Persons enough in every Room to have laid Hands upon him, and to have taken that again by Force, which He had ravished away. Besides that his Majesty knew He expected to be⁽⁶²⁾ sent for at that Time; and that if He had repented the Promise He had made, and resolved not to perform it, He could have found several Ways to have evaded it; and refused to have admitted Mr.

Elliot

Elliot to speak with him: But the Prejudice his Majesty had before contracted against him, and the great Confidence *Elliot* had in the Relation, which was natural in him, had shut out all those Reflections. Yet when his Majesty saw him, He received him graciously; and caused him to be lodged in the Court, in a Room very near his Majesty; which many believed to be rather out of Jealousy, and Care that He should not again return, than out of Respect to him; his Majesty keeping still the Seal himself, and not restoring it to his Custody; which could not but make some Impression on him, and more on others, who from thence concluded that He would have no more to do with the Seal; and carried themselves towards him accordingly.

THE Lords who were come from the House of Peers, and had been offended at his Behaviour there, gave him little Respect now; but rather gave Credit to Mr. *Elliot's* Relation; and were forward to make Relation of his Carriage in the House to his Disadvantage, to the King himself; so that it was no Wonder that the poor Gentleman grew very melancholick. And when He was sent for to attend the King (who was himself present when the Great Seal was to be used; nor did ever suffer it to be used but in the Presence of the Keeper, who signed all Things, as He ought to do by his Office) when any Proclamation of Treason, as that against the Earl of *Essex*, or against the Proceedings of the Houses, as in the Business of the Militia, or the like, was brought to be sealed, He used all Delays; and made many Exceptions; and found Faults in Matters of Form, and otherwise, sometimes very reasonably; yet in such a Manner, as made it evident He retained many Fears about him, as if He was not without Apprehension that He might fall again into their Hands; which was the Cause that the King had said, that He knew not what to make of him.

MR.

Mr. Hyde
writes from
Notfall to be
King.

MR. Hyde, as soon as He heard this, wrote a Letter to the King; and put him in Mind of all that had formerly passed in that Affair; how absolutely the Keeper had destroyed himself in the Account of the Parliament, by paying that Obedience which He ought to do to his Majesty's Commands; and that if He should be deprived of his Majesty's Favour, He must be of all Men the most miserable; and that himself should be most unfortunate, in having contributed so much to his Ruin; which would call his Majesty's Good Nature, and even his Justice into Question; and therefore besought him to be gracious to him, and to keep up his Spirits with his Countenance. However He made it his own humble Suit to his Majesty, that He would not take any severe Resolution against him, before He gave him leave to kiss his Hand, and to offer him some farther Considerations. Upon the Receipt of this Letter, the King sent him Word, that He would gratify him in the last part of his Letter, and conclude nothing before He spake with him: in the mean Time He wished him to send the Keeper some good Counsel; and that as soon as He should have dispatched some Business He had then upon his Hands, that He would come to York, where He would find much to do; and that He thought now, there would be less Reason every Day for his being concealed. And within four, or five Days after, his Majesty sent Mr. *Ashburnham* to him to let him know, that He had every Day so much to do with the Keeper, and found him so refractory and obstinate, that He should not be able to keep the Promise He had made to him, if He did not⁽⁶⁾

And goes from
absence to
York.

make Haste to York; and therefore bade him to be with him with all Convenience: Whereupon, within two Days after, for He had somewhat to dispatch that required Haste, and sooner than He intended, He waited upon his Majesty at York.

WHEN

WHEN He came to the Court, being about four of the Clock in the Afternoon, the King was at Council, upon the publishing his Answer to the Declaration of the twenty sixth of *May*; which, though it contained eight, or nine Sheets of Paper, He brought to the Board in his own Hand writing; having kept the Promise He had made at *Greenwich*, to that Hour, in writing out all the Papers himself, which had been sent to him; which had been a wonderful Task He had imposed on himself: so that He always spent more than half the Day shut up by himself in his Chamber, writing; which was most of the News the Houses heard of him at *London*; and which perplexed them very much.

MR. *Hyde* was in the Gallery when the King came from Council; and as soon as He saw him, He bade him Welcome to *York* very graciously; and asked some Questions aloud of him, as if He thought He had then come from *London*; and then called him into the Garden, where He walked with him above an Hour. He said at the beginning, "that They needed not now be afraid of being seen together;" then used all the Expressions of Kindness to him that can be imagined, of the Service He had done him; and of the great Benefit He had received from it; even to the turning the Hearts of the whole Nation towards him again; and of his gracious Resolutions of rewarding him with the first Opportunity; and many Expressions of that Kind; which the other received with the Modesty and Reverence that became him. Then his Majesty spake of his Business, and the Temper of that Country; and quickly entered upon finding Fault with the Keeper, and protested, if it were not for his Sake, He would turn him out of his Place that very Hour; and enlarged upon many Particulars of his Obstinacy, and of his Want of Courage, to such a Degree, as if He did really apprehend, that the Gentle-

His Reception there;

and Conversation with the King.

Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod would come and take him out of his Chamber.

MR. *Hyde* told him, that he would discourage many good Men, who desired to serve him very faithfully, if He were too severe for such Faults, as the Infirmities of their Nature, and Defects in their Education, exposed them to: That if the Keeper, from those Impressions, had committed some Faults, which might provoke his Majesty's Displeasure, He had redeemed those Errors by a signal Service, which might well wipe out the Memory of the other. The King said with some Warmth, "that He
"was so far from another Opinion, that He would
"hate himself if He did not believe that He had
"made a full Expiation; and though He did think
"that He had been wrought upon by *him* to perform that Part; yet He thought the Merit of it
"far above any of his Transgressions; and that He
"was disposed from the first Minute of his coming
"to *York*, to have renewed his old Kindness to him,
"and Confidence in him; and would willingly have
"given the Seal again into his Hands, if He had
"found He had desired it: but that He found no
"Serenity in his Countenance; nor any Inclination
"to do what Necessity required: and whereas the
"Parliament took Advantage, that none of his Majesty's Acts which He had caused to be published,
"were Authentick, nor ought to be looked upon
"as his, because the Great Seal had not been affixed to them, which could not be done whilst the
"Great Seal was at *Westminster*; now He had the
"Seal by him, and sent Proclamations to be sealed,⁽⁶⁴⁾
"the Keeper was still as unwilling that they should
"pass, as if He was still under their Power; which
"made him angry, and nothing that He had done
"before."

MR. *Hyde* replied, that "the poor Gentleman
"could not but think himself disobliged to the
highest

"highest Extremity, in the Presumption of Mr. *El-lot*; and that his extravagant, and insolent Discourses should find Credit, without his Majesty's Reprehension, and Vindication, who knew the Falshood of them." And so put his Majesty in Mind of all that had passed; and of the other Circumstances, which made all the other's Brags impossible to be True. For his Fears and Apprehensions, He besought his Majesty to remember, that "He had newly escaped out of that Region, where the Thunder and Lightning is made; and that He could hardly yet recover the Fright He had been often in, and seen so many others in; and that his Majesty need not distrust him, He had passed the *Rubicon*, and had no Hope but in his Majesty." His Majesty concluded, that He should be Whom He reconciles to the Lord Keeper. sure to receive all necessary Countenance, and Protection from him; of which He bade him to assure him, and presently to visit him; which going to do, He met him in the Garden, and They there walked together.

He found him full of Apprehension that He should be put out of his Place; and of the Ruin, and Contempt that He should be then exposed to, which He had brought upon himself; but when the other answered him, that there was no Danger of that; and told him all that had passed between the King and Him; and that if He would, He might have the Seal in his own Custody again within an Hour, He was exceedingly revived, and desired him to intreat the King to keep the Great Seal still himself; that He would by no Means be answerable for the Safety of it; nor would trust any Servant of his own to look to it; which as it was wisely considered, and resolved by him, so it increased the King's Confidence in him; who would have been troubled if the other had accepted the Grace that was offered. And from that Time, when any

Thing

Thing was to be done, that administered any Argument for Doubt, Mr. *Hyde* always prepared him by Discourse; so that there was never after any Unkindness from the King towards him: but the Vigour of his Mind grew every Day less, under a great Melancholy that oppressed him, from the Consideration of the Time, and of his own ill Condition in his Fortune; which was much worse than any Body imagined it could be.

BEFORE He went out of the Garden, the Lord *Howard*, Sir *Hugh Cholmely*, and Sir *Philip Stapleton* (who were the Committee from the Parliament) had Intelligence that He was walking in the Garden with the King; whereupon They came presently thither, and after They had saluted him with much Civility, They shewed him an Instruction They had from the Parliament; by which They were required, if any Member of either House came to *York*, They should let them know, that it was the Pleasure of the House that They should immediately attend the House; and signify to them what Answer They made; and so They desired He would excuse them for doing their Duty. He told them, He was but just then come thither in Obedience to his Majesty's Commands, and knew not yet what Service He was to do; but that as soon as his Majesty would give him Leave, He would return to the Parliament.

He is summoned to attend the Parliament: His Answer.

THERE happened an Accident, at Mr. *Hyde's* first coming to *York*, which He used often to speak of, and to be very merry at. One of the King's Servants had provided a Lodging for him, so that when He alighted at the Court, He sent his Servants thither, and staid himself at the Court till after Supper, and till the King went into his Chamber; and then He had a Guide, who went with him, and conducted him to his Chamber; which He liked very well, and began to undress himself.

One of his Servants wished that He had any other Lodging, and desired him not to lie there; He asked why, it seemed to him a good Chamber: his Servant answered, that the Chamber was good, but the People of the House the worst He ever saw, and such, as He was confident would do him some Mischief: at which wondering, his Servant told him, that the Persons of the House seemed to be of some Condition by their Habit, that was very good; and that the Servants when They came thither, found the Master, and Mistress in the lower Room, who received them civilly, and shewed them the Chamber where their Master was to lodge; and wished them to call for any Thing They wanted, and so left them: That shortly after, one of them went down, and the Mistress of the House being again in the lower Room, where it seems She usually sat, She asked him, what his Master's Name was, which He told her; what said She, that *Hyde* that is of the House of Commons? and He answering yes, She gave a great Shriek, and cried out, that He should not lodge in her House; cursing him with many bitter Execrations. Upon the Noise her Husband came in, and when She told him who it was that was to lodge in the Chamber above, He swore a great Oath that He should not; and that He would rather set his House on Fire, than entertain him in it. The Servant stood amazed, knowing that his Master had never been in, or near that City; and desired to know what Offence He had committed against them; He told them He was confident his Master did not know them, nor could be known to them. The Man answered after two or three Curses, that He knew him well enough, and that He had undone him, and his Wife, and his Children; and so after repeating some new bitter Curses, He concluded, that He would set his House on Fire as soon as the Other should set his

Foot

Foot in it; and so He, and his Wife went away in a great Rage into an inner Room, and clapped the Door to them.

WHEN his Servant had made this Relation to him, He was no less surprized; knew not what to make of it; asked whether the People were drunk, was assured that They were very sober, and appeared before this Passion to be well bred. He sent to desire the Master of the House to come to him, that They might confer together, and that He would immediately depart his House, if He desired it. He received no Answer, but that He and his Wife were gone to Bed: upon which He said no more, but that, if They were gone to Bed, He would go to Bed too, and did accordingly. Though He was not disturbed in the Night, the Morning was not at all calmer; the Master and the Mistress stormed as much as ever; and would not be persuaded to speak with him: but He then understood the Reason; the Man of the House had been an Attorney in the Court of the President and Council of the North, in great Reputation, and Practice there; and thereby got a very good Livelihood, with which He had lived in Splendour; and Mr. Hyde had sat in the Chair of that Committee, and had carried up the Votes of the Commons against that Court, to the House of Peers, upon which it was dissolved: which He confessed was a better Reason for being angry with him, than many others had, who were as angry, and persecuted him more. However, He thought himself obliged to remove the Eye-sore from them, and to quit the Lodging that had been assigned to him; and He was much better accommodated by the Kindness of a good Prebendary of the Church, Dr. *Hodshon*, who sent⁽⁶⁶⁾ to invite him to lodge in his House, as soon as He heard He was come to Town; where He resided as long as the Court staid there.

*He resides at
York with
Dr. Hod-
shon.*

THERE

THERE was now a great Conflux of the Members of both Houses of Parliament to *York*; inso-much as there remained not in the House of Commons above a fifth Part of the whole Number; and of the House of Peers so few, that there continued not at *Westminster* twenty Lords. Yet They proceeded with the same Spirit, and Presumption, as when their Numbers were full; published new Declarations against the King; raised Soldiers for their Army apace; and executed their Ordinance for the Militia in all the Counties of *England*, the northern Parts only excepted; forbade all Persons to resort to the King; and intercepted many in their Journey towards *York*, and committed them to Prison: notwithstanding which, many Persons of Quality every Day flocked thither; and it was no longer safe for those Members to stay in the Houses of Parliament, who resolved not to concur with them in their unwarrantable Designs; and therefore the Lord *Falkland*, and Sir *John Colepepper* shortly after repaired likewise to *York*.

WHEN the King declared that He would go to *Beverley*, a Place within four Miles of *Hull*, the Noise of the King's Journey thither made a great Impression upon the Parliament. Where, how great a Concurrence soever there was, in those unwarrantable Actions which begot the War; yet a small Number of those who voted, both the raising the Army, and making the General, did in Truth intend, or believe that there would be a War: and therefore when They looked upon it as begun in this March of the King's to *Hull* (for They considered their own Actions as done only to prevent a War, by making the King unable to make it, who as They thought only desired it) They moved presently for some Overtures of an Accommodation. Which that angry Party that resolved against it, never durst absolutely reject; but consenting cheer-
* I fully

fully to it, got thereby Authority to insert such Things in the Address, as must inevitably render it ineffectual. So, at this Time They sent the Earl of *Holland*, a Person whom They knew to be most unacceptable to the King, with two Members of the House of Commons, who came to *Beverley* the Day the King arrived there. The Subject of their Message was, after several specious Expressions, and Professions of their Duty, to dissuade his Majesty from making War against his Parliament, by proceeding in his Enterprize against *Hull*, which the Parliament was obliged to defend. And all the Expedient They proposed for the avoiding this War was, that He would consent to the nineteen Propositions, which They had formerly made to him at *York*, and to which He had long since returned his Answer; and both the one and the other were printed.

THESE nineteen Propositions, which contained the Disinherison of the Crown of all its choice Regalities, and left only the Shadow, and empty Name of the King, had been framed by the Houses after Mr. *Hyde* left *London*. And because He had so much Work then upon his Hands, as They believed He would not be able to dispatch soon enough, the Lord *Falkland*, and Sir *John Colepepper* undertook to prepare an Answer to them themselves; and so divided the Propositions between them; and in a short Time so finished their Answer, that They sent it to the King, and desired that Mr. *Hyde* might peruse it, and then cause it to be published and printed. The Answer was full to all Particulars; and writ with very much Wit and Sharpness; but there were some Expressions in it, which He liked not, as prejudicial to the King, and in Truth a Mistake in Point of Right, in that Part which had been prepared by Sir *John Colepepper*; who had taken it upon Credit, and without weighing

ing the Consequence, did really believe that it had been True; which was, that in the Discourse of the Constitution of the Kingdom, He had declared, that the *King*, and *the House of Peers*, and *the House of Commons* made the *Three Estates*: And for this Reason Mr. *Hyde* did not advance the Printing it; and told the King, that all the Particulars in those Propositions had been enough answered in former Answers to other Declarations (which was true) and therefore that this needed not be published: With which his Majesty was satisfied, without knowing the particular true Reason; which He thought not fit to communicate, for both Persons Sakes, of whose Affection for the Church (which was principally concerned in that Mistake, since in Truth the Bishops make the *Third Estate*, the King being the Head, and Sovereign of the Whole) his Majesty was always jealous.

Mr. Hyde advises the King not to publish the Answer to the Parliament's nineteen Propositions.

BUT They no sooner came to *York*, than They appeared much unsatisfied, that that Answer was not printed: And the Lord *Falkland* finding it remained still in Mr. *Hyde's* Hands, He expostulated warmly with him of the Reasons; and in some Passion said, "He therefore disliked it because He had not writ it himself." Upon which, without saying more than that, "He never expected so unkind a Reproach from him," He delivered the written Copy to him, and He immediately procured the King's Consent, and sent it to the Press that Night, with Order to lose no Time in the Impression. Of which the King was afterwards very sensible; and that excellent Lord, who intended not the least Unkindness (nor did it produce the least Interruption in their Friendship) was likewise much troubled when He knew the Reason; and imputed it to his own Inadvertency, and to the Infusion of some Lawyers who had misled Sir *John Colepepper*; and to the Declarations which many of the Prela-

Lord Falkland's Exposition with him thereon.

tical Clergy frequently, and ignorantly made, that the Bishops did not sit in Parliament, as the Representatives of the Clergy, and so could not be the *Third Estate*.

It happened that the Day the Earl of *Holland* came to *Beverley*, Mr. *Hyde* had been riding abroad, and returning to *Beverley*, happened to be in the same Road, when the Earl of *Holland*, and his Company prosecuted their Journey to the King: When meeting together, there passed the usual Salutations which are between Persons well known to each other. "He hoped (the Earl said) that He should be welcome to all honest Men at the Court, because He came to invite the King to return to his Parliament; and to abolish all Jealousies between them." The other answered, "He would be very welcome indeed, if He brought proper Expedients to produce either of those Effects; But then his Errand must be of another Composition, than what the King understood it to be." Upon which They entered upon a warmer Discourse than it may be either of them intended; and as the Earl spake in another Style than He had used to do, of the Power and Authority of the Parliament, and how much They were superior to any Opposition or Contradiction; so the other in the Debate was less reserved, and kept a less Guard upon himself than He used to do; so that They seemed nothing pleased with each other: Nor did Mr. *Hyde* visit him after his coming to *Beverley*, because He was informed that the Earl had to many Persons who resorted to him, repeated with some Liberty and Sharpness, what had passed between them; and not without some Menaces what the Parliament would do. And (68) as soon as He did return, there was a new Vote passed by Name against him, and two, or three more, by which He was exempted from Pardon, in any Accommo-

Mr. Hyde's
Conversation
with the Earl
of Holland.

He is exempted
from Pardon
by a Vote
of the Houses.

commodation that should be made between the King, and Parliament.

MR. *Hyde* had been absent four, or five Days from the Court; and came into the Presence when the King was washing his Hands before Dinner; and as soon as the King saw him, He asked him aloud, "*Ned Hyde* when did you play with my Band-strings last?" upon which He was exceedingly out of Countenance, not imagining the Cause of the Question, and the Room being full of Gentlemen, who appeared to be merry with what the King had asked. But his Majesty observing him to be in Disorder, and to blush very much, said pleasantly, "be not troubled at it, for I have worn "no Bandstrings these twenty Years." And then asked him whether He had not seen the Diurnal; of which He had not heard till then, but, shortly after, some of the Standers-by shewed him a Diurnal, in which there was a Letter of Intelligence printed, where it was said, that *Ned Hyde* was grown so familiar with the King, that He used to play with his Bandstrings. Which was a Method of calumniating They began then, and shortly after prosecuted and exercised upon much greater Persons.

In the Afternoon the Earl of *Holland* came to deliver his Message with great Formality: Whom the King received with much Coldness, and Manifestation of Neglect; and when the Earl approached, and kneeled to kiss his Hand, He turned or withdrew his Hand in such a Manner, that the Earl kissed his own. When the Message was read, the King said little more, than that They should not stay long for an Answer; and so went to his Chamber. The Earl was not without many Friends there, and some of them moved the King, that He would give him Leave to say somewhat to him in Private, which They believed would be very much for his Service; but his Majesty would by no Means yield

to it. By this Time his Majesty had Notice of the Governour's Irresolution at *Hull*; and so was glad of this Opportunity to have a fair Excuse for making no Attempt upon that Place. And sent the next Day for the Earl of *Holland* to receive his Answer; which being read aloud in the King's Presence, and a full Room, by the Clerk of the Council, was very grateful to the Auditors, who feared some Condescension in the King; though very mortifying to the Earl. For besides that it was thought very sharp towards the Houses, it declared his Brother the Earl of *Warwick* a Traitor, for possessing himself of the King's Fleet against his Consent; and concluded, that He would forbear any Attempt upon *Hull* for fourteen Days; in which Time, if the Parliament would enter into a Treaty for a happy Peace, They should find him very well inclined to it; after the Expiration of that Time He should pursue those Ways which He thought fit. In the mean Time, He made a short Progress into the adjacent Counties of *Nottingham*, and *Leicester*, to see what Countenance They wore; and to encourage those, who appeared to have good Affections to his Service: And then returning to *Beverley* within the limited Time, and hearing no more from the Parliament, or any Thing from *Hull* that He expected, He returned again to *York*.

MR. *Hyde* was wont often to relate a Passage in that melancholick Time, when the Standard was set up at *Nottingham*, with which He was much affected. Sir *Edmund Varney*, Knight-Marshal, who was mentioned before as Standard Bearer, with⁽⁶⁹⁾ whom He had great Familiarity, who was a Man of great Courage, and generally beloved, came one Day to him and told him, "He was very glad to see him in so universal a Damp, under which the Spirits of most Men were oppressed, retain still his natural Vivacity and Cheerfulness; that He

"knew

His Conversation with Sir Edmund Varney.

"knew that the Condition of the King, and the
 "Power of the Parliament, was not better known
 "to any Man than to him; and therefore He hoped
 "that He was able to administer some Comfort to
 "his Friends, that might raise their Spirits, as well
 "as it supported his own." He answered, "that
 "He was in Truth beholden to his Constitution,
 "which did not incline him to Despair; otherwise,
 "that He had no pleasant Prospect before him, but
 "thought as ill of Affairs as most Men did; that
 "the other was as far from being melancholick as
 "He, and was known to be a Man of great Cou-
 "rage (as indeed He was of a very cheerful, and
 "a generous Nature, and confessedly Valiant) and
 "that They could not do the King better Service,
 "than by making it their Business to raise the de-
 "jected Minds of Men; and root out those Appre-
 "hensions which disturbed them, of Fear, and De-
 "spair, which could do no Good, and did really
 "much Mischief."

He replied smiling, "I will willingly join with
 "you the best I can, but I shall act it very scur-
 "vily. My Condition, *said He*, is much worse than
 "your's, and different I believe from any other
 "Man's, and will very well justify the Melancho-
 "lick that, I confess to you, possesses me. You
 "have Satisfaction in your Conscience that you are
 "in the Right; that the King ought not to grant
 "what is required of him; and so you do your
 "Duty, and your Business together: But for my
 "Part, I do not like the Quarrel, and do heartily
 "wish that the King would yield and consent to
 "what They desire; so that my Conscience is only
 "concerned in Honour, and in Gratitude to fol-
 "low my Master. I have eaten his Bread, and
 "served him near thirty Years, and will not do so
 "base a Thing, as to forsake him; and chuse ra-
 "ther to lose my Life (which I am sure I shall do)

“preserve and defend those Things, which are
 “against my Conscience to preserve and defend:
 “For I will deal freely with you, I have no Re-
 “verence for the Bishops, for whom this Quarrel
 “subsists.” It was not a Time to dispute; and
 his Affection to the Church had never been sus-
 pected. He was as good as his Word; and was
 killed in the Battle of *Edgehill*, within two Months
 after this Discourse. And if those who had the
 same and greater Obligations, had observed the
 same, Rules of Gratitude, and Generosity, whatever
 their other Affections had been, that Battle had
 never been fought, nor any of that Mischief been
 brought to pass, that succeeded it.

*The King's
 Wager with
 Lord Falk-
 land concern-
 ing Mr.
 Hyde's Style.*

AFTER the King came to *Oxford* with his Army,
 his Majesty one Day speaking with the Lord *Falk-
 land* very graciously concerning Mr. *Hyde*, said He
 had such a peculiar Stile, that He could know any
 Thing written by him, if it were brought to him
 by a Stranger, amongst a Multitude of Writings by
 other Men. The Lord *Falkland* answered, He
 doubted his Majesty could hardly do that; because
 He himself, who had so long Conversation and
 Friendship with him, was often deceived; and of-
 ten met with Things written by him, of which He
 could never have suspected him, upon the Variety
 of Arguments. To which the King replied, He
 would lay him *an Angel*, that let the Argument be
 what it would, He should never bring him a Sheet
 of Paper (for He would not undertake to judge of
 less) of his Writing, but He would discover it to
 be his. The Lord *Falkland* told him it should be
 a Wager; but neither the one nor the other ever
 mentioned it to Mr. *Hyde*. Some Days after the⁽⁷⁰⁾
 Lord *Falkland* brought several Packets, which He
 had then received from *London*, to the King, before
 He had opened them, as He used to do: And after
 He had read his several Letters of Intelligence, He
 took

took out the Prints of Diurnals, and Speeches, and the like, which were every Day printed at *London*, and as constantly sent to *Oxford*: And amongst the rest there were two Speeches, the one made by the Lord *Pembroke* for an Accommodation; and the other by the Lord *Brooke* against it, and for the carrying on the War with more Vigour, and utterly to root out the Cavaliers, which were the King's Party.

THE King was very much pleased with reading the Speeches, and said, He did not think that *Pembroke* could speak so long together; though every Word He said was so much his own, that no Body else could make it. And so after He had pleased himself with reading the Speeches over again, and then passed to other Papers, the Lord *Falkland* whispered in his Ear (for there were other Persons by) desiring him He would pay him *the Angel*; which his Majesty in the Instant apprehending, blushed, and put his Hand in his Pocket, and gave him *an Angel*, saying, He had never paid a Wager more willingly: And was very merry upon it, and would often call upon Mr. *Hyde* for a Speech, or a Letter, which He very often prepared upon several Occasions; and the King always commanded them to be printed. And He was often wont to say many Years after, that He would be very glad He could make a Collection of all those Papers, which He had written occasionally at that Time; which He could never do, though He got many of them.

THERE was at that Time a pleasant Story upon those Speeches. The Lord *Brooke* had met with them in print; and heard that He was much reproached for so Unchristian a Speech against Peace; though the Language was such as He used in all Opportunities: Whereupon one Morning in the House of Peers, and before the House sate, He came

*He laments
the Loss of
many of his
occasional
Writings.*

*A Dispute
caused by one
of them.*

came to the Earl of *Portland* (who yet remained there with the King's Approbation, and knew well enough from whence the Speeches came, having himself caused them to be printed) and shewing them to him, desired He would move the House, that that Speech might, by their Order, be burned by the Hand of the Hangman; by which Means the Kingdom would be informed, that it had never been spoken by him. The Earl said He would willingly do him the Service; but He observed that the Speeches were printed in that Manner, that where the Earl of *Pembroke's* Speech ended on the one Side of the Leaf, his (the Lord *Brooke's*) Speech began on the other Side, so that one could not be burned, without burning the other too; which He knew not how the Earl of *Pembroke* would like; and therefore He durst not move it without his Consent. Whereupon They both went to the Earl, who was then likewise in the House, and *Portland* told him what the Lord *Brooke* desired, and asked him whether He wished it should be done. He, who heard He was very well spoken of, for having spoke so honestly for Peace, said, He did not desire it. Upon which *Brooke* in great Anger, asked if He had ever made that Speech; He was very sure He had never made the other; and the other with equal Choler replied, that He was always for Peace; and though He could not say He had spoken all those Things together, He was sure He had spoken them all at several Times; and that He knew as well, that He had always been against Peace, and had often used all those Expressions which were in the Speech, though it may be not all together. Upon which They entered into a high Combat of⁽⁷¹⁾ reproachful Words against each other, to the no small Delight of the Earl, who had brought them together, and of the rest of the Standers-by.

THE King was no sooner settled in his Winter Quarters, after his Retreat from *Brentford* to *Oxford*, but the Parliament sent to him for a Safe-Conduct, for Commissioners to be sent from them to treat of Peace; which was sent to them. And at this Time there was a Change in Mr. *Hyde's* Fortune, by a Preferment the King conferred upon him. Every Body knew He was trusted by the King in his most secret Transactions; but He was under no Character in his Service. When the Commissioners who were sent for the Safe-Conduct came to *Oxford*, some who came in their Company, amongst other Matters of Intelligence brought the King a Letter of his own to the Queen, printed, that had been intercepted, and printed by the License, if not Order, of the Parliament. In this Letter, of the safe Conveyance whereof his Majesty had no Apprehension, the King had lamented the Uneasiness of his own Condition, in respect of the daily Importunity which was made to him by the Lords, and others, for Honours, Offices, and Preferments; and named several Lords, who were solicitous by themselves, or their Friends, for this, and that Place; in all which He desired to receive the Queen's Advice, being resolved to do Nothing with Reference to those Pretences, till He should receive it. But He said there were some Places, which He must dispose of without staying for her Answer, the Necessity of his Service requiring it; which were the Mastership of the Wards; Applications being still made to the Lord *Say* in those Affairs, and so that Revenue was diverted from him: And therefore as He had revoked his Patent, so He was resolved to make Secretary *Nicholas* Master of the Wards, and then (these were his Majesty's own Words) I must make *Ned Hyde* Secretary of State, for the the Truth is, I can trust no Body else. Which was a very envious Expression, and extended by

by the ill Interpretation of some Men, to a more general Comprehension than could be intended. This was quickly made publick, for there were several Prints of it in many Hands; and some Men had Reason to be troubled to find their Names mentioned in that Manner, and others were glad that theirs were there, as having the Pretence to pursue their Importunities the more vehemently, being, as the Phrase was, brought upon the Stage, and should suffer much in their Honour if They should be now rejected; which Kind of Argumentation was very unagreeable and grievous to the King.

Mr. Hyde declines the Office of Secretary of State.

ONE Morning, when the King was walking in the Garden, as He used to do, Mr. *Hyde* being then in his View, his Majesty called him, and discoursed of the Trouble He was in at the intercepting that Letter; and finding by his Countenance that He understood not the Meaning, He asked him, "whether He had not heard a Letter of his, which He writ to the Queen, had been intercepted, and printed." And He answering, that "He had not heard of it," as in Truth He had not; the King gave him the printed Letter to read, and then said, that "He wished it were as much in his Power to make every Body else amends, as He could him; for, *He said*, He was resolved that After-noon to swear him Secretary of State, in the Place of *Nicholas*; whom He would likewise then make Master of the Wards." Mr. *Hyde* told him, "He was indeed much surprized with the Sight of the Letter; which He wished had not been communicated in that Manner: But that He was much more surprized to find his own Name it, and his Majesty's Resolution upon it, which He besought him to change; for as He never⁽⁷²⁾ had the Ambition to hope, or wish for that Place, so He knew He was very unfit for it, and unable

" to

"to discharge it." To which the King with a little Anger replied, that "He did the greatest Part of the Business now:" And He answered, that "what He did now, would be no Part of the Business, if the Rebellion were ended; and that his Unskillfulness in Languages, and his not understanding foreign Affairs, rendered him very incapable of that Trust." The King said, "He would learn as much as was necessary of that Kind very quickly." He continued his Desire, that his Majesty would lay aside that Thought; and said, "that He had great Friendship for Secretary *Nicholas*, who would be undone by the Change; for He would find that his Majesty would receive very little, and He Nothing, by that Office, till the Troubles were composed." The King said, "*Nicholas* was an honest Man, and that his Change was by his Desire;" and bade him speak with him of it; which He went presently to do, leaving his Majesty unsatisfied with the Scruples He had made.

WHEN He came to the Secretary's Lodging, He found him with a cheerful Countenance, and embracing him, called him his Son. Mr. *Hyde* answered him, that "it was not the Part of a good Son to undo his Father, or to become his Son that He might undo him:" And so They entered upon the Discourse; the one telling him what the King had resolved, and how grateful the Resolution was to him; and the other informing him of the Conference He had then had with the King, and that for his Sake as well as his own, He would not submit to the King's Pleasure in it. And so He debated the whole Matter with him; and made it evident to him, that He would be disappointed in any Expectation He should entertain of Profit from the Wards, as the State of Affairs then stood: So that He should relinquish an honourable Employment, which He was well acquainted with, for an empty Title with
which

which He would have nothing to do : And so advised him to consider well of it, and of all the Consequences of it, before He exposed himself to such an Inconvenience.

WHILST this was in Suspense, Sir *Charles Caesar*, who with great Prejudice to the King, and more Reproach to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Laud*, had been made Master of the Rolls, died : And Sir *John Colepepper* had long had a Promise from the King of that Place, when it should become void, and now pressed the Performance of it : Which was violently opposed by many, partly out of ill Will to him (for He had not the Faculty of getting himself much loved) and as much out of good Husbandry, and to supply the King's Necessities with a good Sum of Money, which Dr. *Duck* was ready to lay down for the Office. And the King was so far wrought upon, that He paid down three thousand Pounds in Part of what He was to give ; but his Majesty caused the Money to be repaid, and resolved to make good his Promise to Sir *John Colepepper*, who would by no means release him. This was no sooner declared, than the Lord *Falkland* (who was much more solicitous to have Mr. *Hyde* of the Council, than He was himself for the Honour) took an Opportunity to tell the King, that He had now a good Opportunity to prefer Mr. *Hyde*, by making him Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the Place of Sir *John Colepepper* ; which the King said, He had resolved to do, and bid him take no Notice of it, until He had told him so himself. And shortly after sent for him, and said, " that He
" had now found an Office for him, which He
" hoped He would not refuse : That the Chancel-⁽⁷³⁾
" lorship of the Exchequer was void by the Promo-
" tion of *Colepepper* ; and that He resolved to confer
" it upon him ;" with many gracious Expressions of the Satisfaction He had in his Service. The other answered,

*But accepts
that of Chan-
cellor of the
Exchequer.*

answered, "that though it was an Office much
"above his Merit, yet He did not despair of enabling
"himself by Industry to execute it, which He would
"do with all Fidelity."

As soon as this was known, no Man was so much
troubled at it as Sir *John Colepepper*, who had in
Truth an Intention to have kept both Places, until
He should get into the quiet Possession of the Rolls.
And though He professed much Friendship to the
other, He had no Mind He should be upon the
same Level with him; and believed He would have
too much Credit in the Council. And so delayed,
after his Patent for the Rolls was passed, to surren-
der that of the Chancellorship of the Exchequer,
until the Lord *Falkland*, and the Lord *Digby* ex-
postulated very warmly with him upon it, and until
the King took Notice of it; and then, seeming very
much troubled that any Body should doubt the In-
tegrity of his Friendship to Mr. *Hyde*, to whom He
made all the Professions imaginable, He surren-
dered his Office of Chancellor of the Exchequer: And
the next Day Mr. *Hyde* was sworn of the Privy-
Council, and Knighted, and had his Patents sealed
for that Office. And the King, after He rose from
the Council, and after many Expressions, of the
Content He took himself in the Obligation He had
laid upon him, with much Grace, that was not na-
tural in him upon such Occasions, told him, that
"He was very fortunate, because He verily believed
"no Body was angry at his Preferment; for besides
"that the Earl of *Dorset* and others, who He knew
"loved him, had expressed much Satisfaction in the
"King's Purpose; He said, the Lord *Maltreviers*,
"and the Lord *Dunsmore*, who He did not think
"had any Acquaintance with him, seemed very
"much pleased with him; and therefore He thought
"no Body would envy him; which was a rare Feli-
"city." But his Majesty was therein mistaken; for
He

*He is sworn
of the Privy
Council and
Knighted.*

He had great Enviars, of many who thought He had run too fast; especially of those of his own Profession, who looked upon themselves as his Superiors in all Respects, and did not think that his Age (which was not then above thirty three) or his other Parts, did entitle him to such a Preference before them. And the News of it at *Westminster*, exceedingly offended those who governed in the Parliament; to see the Man whom They most hated, and whom They had voted to be incapable of Pardon, to be now preferred to an Office the Chief of them looked for. Besides, there was another unusual Circumstance accompanied his Preferment, that it was without the Interposition, or Privy of the Queen, which was not like to make it the more easy, and advantageous; and it was not the more unwelcome to him from that Circumstance.

NOTWITHSTANDING all the Discourse of, and Inclination to a Treaty, the Armies were not quiet on either Side. The King's Quarters were enlarged by the taking of *Marlborough* in *Wiltshire*, and of *Cirencester* in *Glostershire*; which though untenable by their Situation, and weak Fortifications, were garrisoned by the Parliament with great Numbers of Men, who were all killed, or taken Prisoners. And the Parliament Forces were not without Success too; and after the Loss of *Marlborough*, surprised the Regiment of Horse, that was commanded by the Lord *Grandison*, a gallant Gentleman, who if not betrayed, was unhappily invited to *Winchester*, with Promise of Forces ready to defend the Place; which being in no Degree performed, He⁽⁷⁴⁾ was the next Day after He came, enclosed in the Castle of *Winchester*, and compelled to become, all, Officers and Soldiers, Prisoners of War: Though He and some other of the principal Officers, by the Negligence, or Corruption of their Guard, made their

Part II. EDWARD *Earl of CLARENDON*.

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their Escape in the Night, and returned to Oxford.

THIS was the State of the Kingdom, of the King, and of the Parliament, in the Beginning of the Year 1643, at the Time when Mr. *Hyde* was made of the Privy Council, and Chancellor of the Exchequer: Which was between the Return of the Commissioners, who had been sent to the King to propose a Treaty, and the coming of those Commissioners to *Oxford*, who were afterwards sent from the Parliament to treat with the King; which being about the End of the Year 1642, this Part shall be closed here.

*Pezenas the 24th
of July, 1669.*



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The LIFE of
EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON
From his Birth to the Restoration of the
ROYAL FAMILY in 1660.

PART the THIRD.

(75) **I**T was about the Beginning of *March* (which by that Account was about the End of the Year 1642, and about the Beginning of the Year 1643) that the Commissioners of the Parliament came to *Oxford*, to treat with his Majesty; and were received graciously by him; and by his Order lodged conveniently, and well accommodated in all Respects.

THE Parliament had bound up their Commissioners to the strictest Letter of their Propositions; nor did their Instructions at this Time (which They presented to the King) admit the least Latitude to them to interpret a Word or Expression, that admitted a doubtful Interpretation. Insomuch as the King told them, "that He was sorry that They had no more Trust reposed to them; and that the Parliament might as well have sent their Demands to him by the common Carrier, as by Commissioners so restrained." They had only twenty Days allowed them to finish the whole Treaty: whereof They might employ six Days in adjusting

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a Cessa-

a Cessation, if They found it probable to effect it in that Time: otherwise They were to decline the Cessation, and enter upon the Conditions of the Peace; which if not concluded before the End of the twenty Days, They were to give it over, and to return to the Parliament.

THESE Propositions, and Restrictions much abated the Hopes of a good Issue of the Treaty. Yet every Body believed, and the Commissioners themselves did not doubt, that if such a Progress should be made in the Treaty, that a Peace was like to ensue, there would be no Difficulty in the Enlargement of the Time: and therefore the Articles for a Cessation were the sooner declined, that They might proceed in the main Business. For though what was proposed by them in Order to it, was agreeable enough to the Nature of such an Affair; yet the Time allowed for it was so short, that it was impossible to make it practicable: nor could Notice be timely given to all the Quarters on either Side, to observe it.

BESIDES that, there were many Particulars in it, which the Officers on the King's Side (who had no Mind to a Cessation) formalized much upon: and (I know not from what unhappy Root, but) there⁽⁷⁵⁾ was sprung up a wonderful Aversion in the Town against a Cessation. Insomuch as many Persons of Quality of several Counties, whereof the Town was full, applied themselves in a Body to the King, not to consent to a Cessation, till a Peace might be concluded; alledging, that They had several Agitations in their Countries, for his Majesty's, and their own Conveniences, which would be interrupted by the Cessation; and if a Peace should not afterwards ensue, would be very mischievous. Which Suggestion, if it had been well weighed, would not have been found to be of Importance. But the Truth is, the King himself had no Mind to the Cessation,
for

for a Reason which shall be mentioned anon, though it was never owned: and so They waved all farther Mention of the Cessation, and betook themselves to the Treaty; it being reasonable enough to believe, that if both Sides were heartily disposed to it, a Peace might as soon have been agreed upon, as a Cessation could be. All the Transactions of that Treaty having been long since published, and being fit only to be digested into the History of that Time, are to be omitted here. Only what passed in Secret, and was never communicated, nor can otherwise be known, since at this Time, no Man else is living who was privy to that Negotiation, but the Chancellor of the Exchequer, will have a proper Place in this Discourse.

*The Secret
Transactions
in the Treaty
of Oxford.*

THE Propositions brought by the Commissioners in the Treaty were so unreasonable, that They well knew that the King would never consent to them: but some Persons amongst them, who were known to wish well to the King, endeavoured underhand to bring it to pass. And They did therefore, whilst They publickly pursued their Instructions, and delivered, and received Papers upon their Propositions, privately use all the Means they could, especially in Conferences with the Lord *Falkland*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that the King might be prevailed with, in some Degree to comply with their unreasonable Demands.

IN all Matters which related to the Church, They did not only despair of the King's Concurrence, but did not in their own Judgments wish it; and believed, that the Strength of the Party which desired the Continuance of the War, was made up of those, who were very indifferent in that Point; and that, if They might return with Satisfaction in other Particulars, They should have Power enough in the two Houses, to oblige the more violent People to accept, or submit to the Conditions. They wished

Mr. Pierre-
point's Pro-
position.

therefore that the King would make some Condescensions in the Point of the Militia; which They looked upon as the only substantial Security They could have, not to be called in Question for what They had done amiss. And when They saw Nothing could be digested of that Kind, which would not reflect both upon the King's Authority, and his Honour, They gave over insisting upon the General; and then Mr. *Pierrepoint* (who was of the best Parts, and most intimate with the Earl of *Northumberland*) rather desired than proposed, that the King would offer to grant his Commission to the Earl of *Northumberland*, to be Lord High Admiral of *England*. By which Condescension He would be restored to his Office, which He had lost for their Sakes; and so their Honour would be likewise repaired, without any signal Prejudice to the King; since He should hold it only by his Majesty's Commission, and not by any Ordinance of Parliament; and He said, if the King would be induced to gratify them in this Particular, He could not be confident, that They should be able to prevail with both Houses to be satisfied therewith, so that a Peace might suddenly be concluded; but as He did not despair even of that, He did believe, that so many would be satisfied with it, that They would from thence take the Occasion to separate themselves from them, as Men who would rather destroy their Country, than restore it to Peace.

AND the Earl of *Northumberland* himself took so much Notice of this Discourse to Secretary *Nicholas* (with whom He had as much Freedom, as his reserved Nature was capable of) as to protest to him, that He desired only to receive that Honour, and Trust from the King, that He might be able to do him Service; and thereby to recover the Credit He had unhappily lost with him. In which He used very decent Expressions towards his Majesty; not without

without such Reflections upon his own Behaviour, as implied that He was not proud of it: and concluded, that if his Majesty would do him that Honour, as to make that Offer to the Houses, upon the Proposition of the Militia, He would do all He could that it might be effectual towards a Peace; and if it had not Success, He would pass his Word and Honour to the King, that as soon, or whensoever, his Majesty would please to require it, He would deliver up his Commission again into his Hands; He having no other Ambition, or Desire, than by this Means to re-deliver up the Royal Navy to his Majesty's as absolute Disposal, as it was, when his Majesty first put it into his Hands; and which He doubted would hardly be done by any other Expedient, at least not so soon.

WHEN this Proposition (which from the Interest, and Persons who proposed it, seemed to carry with it some Probability of Success, if it should be accepted) was communicated with those who were like with most Secrecy to consult it; Secretary *Nicholas* having already made some Approach towards the King upon the Subject, and found his Majesty without Inclination to hear more of it; it was agreed and resolved by them, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer should presume to make the Proposition plainly to the King; and to persuade his Majesty to hear it debated in his Presence: at least, if that might not be, to enlarge upon it himself, as much as the Argument required: and He was not unwilling to embark himself in the Affair.

WHEN He found a fit Opportunity for the Representation, and his Majesty at good Leisure, in his Morning's Walk, when He was always most willing to be entertained, the Chancellor related ingenuously to him the whole Discourse, which had been made by Mr. *Pierrepoint*, and to whom; and what the Earl himself had said to Secretary *Ni-*
cholas;

cholas; and what Conference They, to whom his Majesty gave Leave to consult together upon his Affairs, had between themselves upon the Argument, and what occurred to them upon it: in which He mentioned the Earl's Demerit towards his Majesty, with Severity enough, and what Reason He had, not to be willing to restore a Man to his Favour, who had forfeited it so unworthily. Yet He desired him to consider his own ill Condition; and how unlike it was, that it should be improved by the Continuance of the War; and whether He could ever imagine a Possibility of getting out of it upon more easy Conditions, than what was now proposed; the Offer of which to the Parliament could do him no signal Prejudice, and could not but bring him very notable Advantages: for if the Peace did not ensue upon it, such a Rupture infallibly would, as might in a little Time facilitate the other. And then He said as much to lessen the Malignity of the Earl as He could, by remembring, how dutifully He had resigned his Commission of Admiral, upon his Majesty's Demand; and his Refusal to accept the Commission the Parliament would have given him: and observed some Vices in his Nature, which would stand in the Place of Virtues, towards the Support of his Fidelity to his Majesty, and his Animosity against the Parliament; if He were once re-ingratiated to his Majesty's Trust.

THE King heard him very quietly without the least Interruption, which He used not to do upon Subjects which were not grateful to him, for He knew well, that He was not swayed by any Affection to the Man; to whom He was more a Stranger, than He was to most of that Condition: and He upon Occasions, had often made sharp Reflections upon his Ingratitude to the King. His Majesty seemed at the first to insist upon the Improbability, that any such Concession by him, would be attend-

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ed with any Success; that not only the Earl had not Interest in the Houses, to lead them into a Resolution, that was only for his particular Benefit; but that the Parliament itself was not able to make a Peace, without such Conditions as the Army would require. And then He should suffer exceedingly in his Honour, for having shewn an Inclination to a Person, who had requited his former Graces so unworthily: and this led him into more Warmth than He used to be affected with. He said, “in-^{The King's Answer.} deed He had been very unfortunate in conferring his Favours upon many very ungrateful Persons: but no Man was so inexcusable as the Earl of *Northumberland*.” He said, “He knew that the *Earl of Holland* was generally looked upon as the Man of the greatest Ingratitude; but (He said) He could better excuse him than the other: that it was true, He owed all He had to his Father’s and his Bounties; and that himself had conferred great Favours upon him; but that it was as true, He had frequently given him many Mortifications, which though He had deserved, He knew had troubled him very much; that He had often denied him, that any other Man of his Condition; and that He had but lately refused to gratify him in a Suit He had made to him, of which He had been very confident; and so might have some Excuse (how ill soever) for being out of Humour, which led him from one Ill to another; but that He had lived always without Intermision, with the Earl of *Northumberland* at his Friend, and courted him as his Mistress; that He had never denied any Thing He had ever asked, and therefore his Carriage to him was never to be forgotten.”

AND this Discourse He continued with more Commotion, and in a more patheticall Stile, than ever He used upon any other Argument. And though

though at that Time it was not fit to press the Matter farther, it was afterwards resumed by the same Person more than once; but without any other Effect, than that his Majesty was contented, that the Earl should not despair of being restored to that Office, when the Peace should be made; or upon any eminent Service performed by him, when the Peace should be despaired of. The King was very willing and desirous that the Treaty should be drawn out in Length; to which Purpose a Proposition was made to the Commissioners, for an Addition of Ten Days, which They sent to the Parliament, without the least Apprehension that it would be denied. But They were deceived; and for Answer received an Order upon the last Day but one of the Time before limited, by which They were expressly required, to leave *Oxford* the next Day. From that Time, all Intercourse, and Commerce between *Oxford* and *London*, which had been permitted before, was absolutely interdicted under the highest Penalties by the Parliament.

If this secret underhand Proposition had succeeded, and received that Encouragement from the King, that was desired; and more Application of the same Remedies had been then made to other⁽⁷⁹⁾ Persons (for alone it could never have proved effectual) it is probable, that those violent and abominable Counsels, which were but then in Projection between very few Men of any Interest, and which were afterwards miserably put in Practice, had been prevented. And it was exceedingly wondered at, by those who were then privy to this Overture, and by all who afterwards came to hear of it, that the King should in that Conjunction decline so advantageous a Proposition; since He did already discern many ill Humours, and Factions, growing, and nourished, both in his Court and Army, which would every Day be uneasy to him; and did

did with all his Soul desire an End of the War. And there was nothing more suitable and agreeable to his magnanimous Nature, than to forgive those, who had in the highest Degree offended him: Which Temper was notorious throughout his whole Life. It will not be therefore amiss in this Discourse, to enlarge upon this fatal Rejection, and the true Cause and Ground thereof.

THE King's Affection to the Queen was of a very extraordinary Alloy; a Composition of Conscience, and Love, and Generosity, and Gratitude, and all those noble Affections, which raise the Passion to the greatest Height; insomuch as He saw with her Eyes; and determined by her Judgment. And did not only pay her this Adoration, but desired that all Men should know that He was swayed by her; which was not good for either of them. The Queen was a Lady of great Beauty, excellent Wit and Humour, and made him a just Return of noblest Affections; so that They were the true Idea of conjugal Affection, in the Age in which They lived. When She was admitted to the Knowledge, and Participation of the most secret Affairs (from which She had been carefully restrained by the Duke of Buckingham, whilst He lived) She took Delight in the examining and discussing them, and from thence in making Judgment of them; in which, her Passions were always strong.

The true Cause of the King's rejecting it.

SHE had felt so much Pain in knowing Nothing, and meddling with Nothing, during the Time of that great Favourite, that now She took Pleasure in Nothing by knowing all Things, and disposing all Things: and thought it but just, that She should dispose of all Favours and Preferments, as He had done; at least, that Nothing of that Kind might be done, without her Privy: not considering that the universal Prejudice that great Man had undergone, was not with Reference to his Person, but his Power:

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er: and that the same Power would be equally obnoxious to Murmur and Complaint, if it resided in any other Person, than the King himself. And She so far concurred with the King's Inclination, that She did not more desire to be possessed of this unlimited Power, than that all the World should take Notice, that She was the entire Mistress of it: which in Truth (what other unhappy Circumstances soever concurred in the Mischief) was the Foundation upon which, the first, and the utmost Prejudices to the King, and his Government, were raised, and prosecuted. And it was her Majesty's, and the Kingdom's Misfortune, that She had not any Person about her, who had either Ability, or Affection, to inform and advise her, of the Temper of the Kingdom, or Humour of the People; or who thought either worth the caring for.

WHEN the Disturbances grew so rude, as to interrupt this Harmony; and the Queen's Fears, and Indisposition, which proceeded from those Fears, disposed her to leave the Kingdom, which the King to comply with her, consented to (and if that Fear had not been predominant in her, her Jealousy, and Apprehension that the King would, at some Time, be prevailed with to yield to some unreasonable Conditions, would have dissuaded her from that Voyage) to make all Things therefore as sure as might be, that her Absence should not be attended with any such Inconvenience, his Majesty made a solemn Promise to her at parting, that He would receive no Person into any Favour, or Trust, who had deserved him, without her Privy and Consent; and that, as She had undergone so many Reproaches and Calumnies at the Entrance into the War, so He would never make any Peace, but by her Interposition, and Mediation, that the Kingdom might receive that Blessing only from Her.

THIS

THIS Promise (of which his Majesty was too Religious an Observer) was the Cause of his Majesty's Rejection, or not Entertaining this last Overture. And this was the Reason that He had that Aversion to the Cessation; which He thought would inevitably oblige him to consent to the Peace, as it should be proposed; and therefore He had countenanced an Address, that had been made to him against it, by the Gentlemen of several Counties attending the Court: and in Truth They were put upon that Address by the King's own private Direction. Upon which the Chancellor of the Exchequer told him, when the Business was over, that He had raised a Spirit he would not be able to conjure down: And that those Petitioners had now appeared in a Business that pleased him, but would be as ready to appear at another Time, to cross what He desired; which proved true. For He was afterwards more troubled with Application, and Importunity of that Kind, and the Murmurs that arose from that Liberty, when all Men would be Counsellors, and censure all that the Council did, than with the Power of the Enemy.

ABOUT the Time that the Treaty began, the Queen landed in the North: And She resolved with a good Quantity of Ammunition, and Arms, to make what Haste She could to the King: having at her first landing, expressed by a Letter to his Majesty, her Apprehension of an ill Peace by that Treaty; and declared, that She would never live in *England*, if She might not have a Guard for the Security of her Person: which Letter came accidentally afterwards into the Hands of the Parliament, of which They made Use to the Queen's Disadvantage. And the Expectation of her Majesty's Arrival at *Oxford*, was the Reason that the King so much desired the Prolongation of the Treaty. And if it had pleased God that She had come thither Time enough,

enough, as She did shortly after, She would have probably condescended to many Propositions for the gratifying particular Persons, as appeared afterwards, if thereby a reasonable Peace might have been obtained.

The Scottish Commissioners present to the King their Request for the Abolition of Episcopacy.

WHEN the *Scottish* Commissioners attended the King at *Oxford*, and desired his Leave, that there might be a Parliament called in *Scotland*, which his Majesty denied them (well knowing, that They would, against all the Protestations, and Oaths They had made to him, at his being in that Country, join with those at *Westminster*) They presented a long Paper to the King, containing a bitter Invective against Bishops, and the whole Government of the Church; as being contrary to the Word of God, and to the Advancement of true Religion: and concluded with a very passionate Desire for the Alteration of that Government, as the only Means to settle Peace throughout his Majesty's Dominions. In all their other Demands, concerning the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and calling a Parliament there, the King had only conferred with two, or three of those He most trusted, whereof the Chancellor of the Exchequer was always one, and drew the Answers He gave: But this last Paper which only concerned *England*, He brought to the Council Board, and⁽⁸¹⁾ required their Advice, what Answer He should give to it. The King himself was very desirous to take this Occasion, to shew his Affection and Zeal for the Church; and that other Men's Mouths might be hereafter stopped in that Argument, and that no Body might ever make the same Proposition to him again, He had a great Mind to have made an Answer to every Expression in their Paper; and to have set out the Divine Right of Episcopacy; and how impossible it was ever for him in Conscience to consent to any Thing, to the Prejudice of that Order and Function, or to the alienating their Lands: enlarging

enlarging himself more in the Debate, than He used to do upon any other Argument; mentioning those Reasons which the ablest Prelate could do upon that Occasion; and wished that all those, and such others as might occur, should be contained in his Answer.

MANY of the Lords were of Opinion, that a short Answer would be best, that should contain nothing but a Rejection of the Proposition, without giving any Reason: no Man seeming to concur with his Majesty, with which He was not satisfied; and replied with some Sharpness upon what had been said. Upon which the Lord *Falkland* replied, having been before of that Mind, desiring that no Reasons might be given; and upon that Occasion answered many of those Reasons the King had urged, as not valid to support the Subject, with a little Quickness of Wit (as his Notions were always sharp, and expressed with notable Vivacity) which made the King warmer than He used to be; reproaching all who were of that Mind, with want of Affection for the Church; and declaring that He would have the Substance of what He had said, or of the like Nature, digested into his Answer; with which Reprehension All sat very silent, having never undergone the like before. Whereupon the King recollecting himself, and observing, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had not yet spoke, called upon him to deliver his Opinion, adding, that He was sure He was of his Majesty's Mind, with Reference to Religion, and the Church.

The King calls upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer to deliver his Opinion thereon.

THE Chancellor stood up, and said, that He would have been glad to have said nothing that Day, having observed more Warmth, than had ever been at that Board, since He had the Honour to sit there (which was not many Days before) that in Truth He was not of the Opinion of any one who had spoken; He did not think that the Answer ought

ought to be very short, or without any Reasons; and He did as little think, that the Reasons mentioned by his Majesty, ought to be applied to the Paper, which the *Scots* had been so bold as to present to the King. He said, all those Reasons were fit to be offered in a Synod, or in any other Place, where that Subject could be lawfully ventilated; and He believed them all to be of that Weight, that Mr. *Henderson* and all his Assembly of Divines could never answer; but He should be very sorry that his Majesty should so far condescend to their Presumption, as to give those Reasons; as if He admitted the Matter to be disputed. He asked his Majesty, what Answer He would give to the King of *France*, if He should send to him, to alter the Government of the City of *London*, or any other City, and that He would substitute other Magistrates in the Place of those, who are; which, as a King, He might more reasonably demand, than these Gentlemen of *Scotland* could do, what They propose; whether his Majesty would think it more agreeable to his Honour, to make a reasonable Discourse, of the Antiquity of the Lord Mayor of *London*, and of the Dependence the present Magistrates had upon the Law, and the Frame of the Government; or whether, He would only send him Word, that He⁽⁸²⁾ should meddle with what He had to do. He did think, that it was very fit that his Majesty's Answer to this Paper should contain a very severe, and sharp Reprehension for their Presumption; and take Notice, how solicitous They were for the Preservation of what They called the Right and Privilege of their Country, that his Majesty might not bring any Thing into Debate at his Council Board here, that concerned the Kingdom of *Scotland*, though it had often too much Relation to the Affairs and Government of *England*; yet that They would take upon them to demand from his Majesty, at least to advise

advise him to make, an Alteration in the Government of *England*, which would quite alter the Frame of it, and make such a Confusion in the Laws; which They could no more comprehend, than They could any of the same Kind, that related to any other foreign Kingdom; and therefore, that for the Future They should not practise the like Presumption.

THE King discovered himself to be very well pleased, all the Time He was speaking; and when He had done, his Majesty said again, He was sure the Chancellor was entirely of his Mind, with Reference to the Church; and that He had satisfied him, that this was not the Season, nor the Occasion, in which those Arguments, which He had used, were to be insisted on; and that He was willing to depart from his own Sense; and was in Truth so well pleased, that He vouchsafed to make some kind of Excuse for the Passion He had spoken with: and all the Lords were very well satisfied with the Expedient proposed; and all commended the Chancellor: and the Answer was given to the *Scottish* Commissioners accordingly: who had too good Intelligence, not to know all that had passed; and upon their long Discourses with the King (who was always forward to enlarge upon that Subject, in which He was so well versed) expected such an Answer, as might give them Opportunity to bring the whole Matter of Episcopacy upon the Stage, and into publick Disputation. And so They returned to *London*, with manifest Dissatisfaction, before the Commissioners of the Parliament; and with avowed Detestation of a Person, against whom They were known always to have an inveterate, and an implacable Displeasure.

THE King was much troubled at the Disunion between the Princes Rupert, and Maurice, and the Marquis of Hertford, after the taking of Bristol; which

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*With which
the King is
well satisfied.*

He knew must exceedingly disorder, and divide that Army: For composing whereof, his Majesty resolved the next Day after the News, to go himself to *Bristol*; which was very necessary in many Respects. The Settlement of the Port, which was of infinite Importance to the King in Point of Trade, and his Customs, and with Reference to *Ireland*; and the applying the Army to some new Enterprize, without Loss of Time, could not be done without his Majesty's Presence. But there was Nothing more disposed his Majesty to that Resolution, than to be absent from his Council at *Oxford*, when He should settle the Differences between the Princes, and the Marquis; for as He was always swayed by his Affection to his Nephews, which He did not think Partiality; so the Lords, towards whom the Princes did not live with any Condescension, were very solicitous, that the Marquis might receive no Injustice, or Disobligation. And the King, to avoid all Counsel in this Particular, resolved to declare no Resolution, till He should come himself to *Bristol*; and so went from *Oxford* thither; taking with him, of the Council, the Duke of *Richmond*, the Lord *Falkland*, the Master of the Rolls, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The King lodging the⁽⁸³⁾ first Night at *Malmsbury*; and the Lord *Falkland*, the Master of the Rolls, and some other Gentlemen lodging that Night with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, at his House at *Pirton*, which lay in the Way to *Bristol*; where They were the next Day within an Hour after the King.

The Chancellor
of the Exche-
quer's Office
invaded by
Mr. Ash-
burnham.

THE Chancellor of the Exchequer had undergone some Mortification, during the short Abode at *Bristol*, which was the only Port of Trade within the King's Quarters; which was like to yield a considerable Benefit to the King, if it were well managed; and the Direction thereof belonged entirely to his Office; but when He sent to the Officers of the

Customs,

Customs, to be informed of the present State of Trade, He found that some Treaty was made, and Order given in it by Mr. *Asburnham*, a Groom of the Bedchamber; who, with the Assistance, and Advice of Sir *John Colepepper*, had prevailed with the King, to assign that Province to him, as a Means to raise a present Sum of Money for the Supply of the Army: which the Chancellor took very heavily, and the Lord *Falkland* out of his Friendship to him, more tenderly; and expostulated it with the King with some Warmth; and more passionately with Sir *John Colepepper*, and Mr. *Asburnham*, as a Violation of the Friendship They professed to the Chancellor, and an Invasion of his Office; which no Man bears easily.

THEY were both ashamed of it, and made some weak Excuses, of Incogitance and Inadvertence; and the King himself, who discerned the Mischief that would ensue, if there should be an apparent Schism amongst those He so entirely trusted, was pleased to take Notice of it to the Chancellor, with many gracious Expressions; and said, "that Mr. *Asburnham* being Treasurer, and Paymaster of the Army, He did believe some Money might have been raised for the present Occasion; and only intended it for the Present, without considering, it would be an Invasion of his Right; and therefore directed, that an Account should be given to him of all that had been done, and He should do as He thought fit." But when He understood all that had been done, He would make no Alteration in it, that his Majesty might be convinced, that his Service was not looked after in the Design. And it was discernable enough, that Mr. *Asburnham*, who usually looked very far before him, had not so much intended to disoblige the Chancellor, as by introducing himself this Way into the Customs, to continue one of the Farmers of the Customs, when the

The King interposes there in.

* L 2 War

War should be at an End; of which He got a Promise from the King at the same Time; who had great Affection for him, and an extraordinary Opinion of his Managery. If there remained after this any Jealousy or Coldness between the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the other Two, as the Disparity between their Natures, and Humours, made some believe there did, it never brake out or appeared, to the Disturbance, or Prejudice of the King's Service; but all possible Concurrence in the carrying it on, was observed between them.

THE March of the Earl of *Essex* from *London* to *Glocester*, over as large a Campania as any in *England*, when the King had an Army of above eight thousand Horse, reputed victorious, without being put to strike one Stroke — the Circumstances of that Siege; and the raising it — the Earl's March, after he had performed that great Work; and when the King's Army watched only to engage him in a Battle; and passing over a large and open Campania, three Days before the King had Notice, that He was come out of *Glocester* — the overtaking the Army; and the Battle by *Newbury* — and his Retreat afterwards to *London*; contained so many particular Actions of Courage, and Conduct, that They all⁽⁸⁴⁾ deserve a very punctual, and just Relation; and are much above the Level of this plain, and foreign Discourse.

The Death of
the Lord
Falkland.

IN this Battle of *Newbury*, the Chancellor of the Exchequer lost the Joy and Comfort of his Life; which He lamented so passionately, that He could not in many Days compose himself to any Thoughts of Business. His dear Friend the Lord *Falkland*, hurried by his Fate, in the Morning of the Battle, as He was naturally inquisitive after Danger, put himself into the Head of Sir *John Byron's* Regiment, which He believed was like to be in the hottest Service, and was then appointed to charge a Body of Foot;

Foot; and in that Charge was shot with a Musket Bullet, so that He fell dead from his Horse. The same Day that the News came to *Oxford* of his Death, which was the next after He was killed, the Chancellor received a Letter from him, written at the Time when the Army rose from *Glocester*; but the Messenger had been employed in other Service, so that He came not to *Oxford* till that Day. The Letter was an Answer to one the Chancellor had then sent to him; in which He had told him, how much He suffered in his Reputation with all discreet Men, by engaging himself unnecessarily in all Places of Danger: And that it was not the Office of a Privy Counsellor, and a Secretary of State, to visit the Trenches, as He usually did; and conjured him, out of the Conscience of his Duty to the King, and to free his Friends from those continual uneasy Apprehensions, not to engage his Person to those Dangers, which were not incumbent to him. His Answer was, that the Trenches were now at an End, there would be no more Danger there: That his Case was different from other Men's; that He was so much taken Notice of for an impatient Desire of Peace, that it was necessary that He should likewise make it appear, that it was not out of Fear of the utmost Hazard of War: He said some melancholick Things of the Time; and concluded, that in few Days They should come to a Battle, the Issue whereof, He hoped, would put an End to the Misery of the Kingdom.

MUCH hath been said of this excellent Person before; but not so much, or so well, as his wonderful Parts, and Virtues deserved. He died as much of the Time as of the Bullet: For from the very Beginning of the War, He contracted so deep a Sadness and Melancholy, that his Life was not pleasant to him; and sure He was too weary of it. Those who did not know him very well, imputed,

very unjustly, much of it to a violent Passion He had for a Noble Lady: And it was the more spoken of, because She died the same Day, and as some computed it, in the same Hour that He was killed; but They who knew either the Lord, or the Lady, knew well, that neither of them was capable of an ill Imagination. She was of the most unspotted, unblemished Virtue, never married, of an extraordinary Talent of Mind, but of no alluring Beauty, nor of a Constitution of tolerable Health, being in a deep Consumption, and not like to have lived so long by many Months. It is very true, the Lord *Falkland* had an extraordinary Esteem of her, and exceedingly loved her Conversation, as most of the Persons of eminent Parts of that Time did; for She was in her Understanding, and Discretion, and Wit, and Modesty, above most Women; the best of which had always a Friendship with her. But He was withal so kind to his Wife, whom He knew to be an excellent Person, that, though He loved his Children with more Affection and Fondness, than most Fathers use to do, He left by his Will all He had to his Wife; and committed his⁽⁸⁵⁾ three Sons, who were all the Children He had, to her sole Care and Bounty.

He was little more than thirty Years of Age when He was killed; in which Time He was very accomplished in all those Parts of Learning, and Knowledge, which most Men labour to attain, till They are very old; and in Wisdom, and the Practice of Virtue, to a wonderful Perfection. From his Age of twenty Years, He had lived in an entire Friendship with the Chancellor, who was about six Months elder; and who never spake of him afterwards, but with a Love, and a Grief, which still raised some Commotion in him. And He very often used to lament him, in the Words of *Cicero* concerning *Hortensius*, *Quod magnâ Sapientium & Civium*

vinum bonorum Penuriâ, Vir egregius, conjunctissimusque mecum Consiliorum omnium Societate, alienissimo Reipublicæ Tempore extinctus, & Auctoritatis, & Prudentiæ suæ, triste nobis Desiderium reliquerat. And without Doubt, it was in a Conjuncture of Time, when the Death of every honest, and discreet Person was a very sensible, and terrible Loss, in the Judgment of all good Men.

AFTER the unhappy Death of the Lord Falkland, the King much desired that the Chancellor of the Exchequer should be Secretary of State in his Place; which the Queen did not oppose, though She rather wished that the Lord Digby might have it; who had so much Kindness and Friendship for the Chancellor (which was at that Time, and long after, as sincere as could receive Harbour in his Breast) that He professed, He would not have it, if the other would receive it: but the Chancellor gratified his Civility, and refused the Office, the second Time, as He had once before. And He had so much more Reason now, by the coming of a very specious Embassy from France, in the Person of the Count of Harcourt, who was already arrived in London; in which the Chancellor knew his own Want of Ability, to act that Part, the Office of Secretary would have obliged him to; and for which, as far as the Perfection of the French Tongue could qualify him, the Lord Digby was very proper; and so He was made Secretary of State; professing to every Body, that as He had the Office by the Chancellor's Refusal of it, so He would wholly advise with him in all Things pertaining to it, which He always did; and the Confidence and Friendship between them was mutual, and very notorious, until that Lord changed his Religion. And He was no sooner admitted and sworn Secretary of State, and Privy Counsellor, and consequently made of the *Junta*, which the King at that Time created, con-

The Chancellor of the Exchequer refuses the Office of Secretary of State a second Time.

He is added
to the Junta.

sisting of the Duke of *Richmond*, the Lord *Cottington*, the two Secretaries of State, and Sir *John Colepepper*, but the Chancellor of the Exchequer was likewise added; to the Trouble, at least the Surprize, of the Master of the Rolls; who could have been contented, that He should have been excluded from that near Trust, where all Matters were to be consulted, before they should be brought to the Council Board. And this Committee was appointed to treat with the Count of *Harcourt*; whom the King believed to be sent from *France*, to demand any Thing from the Parliament in that King's Name, as his Majesty should direct; and therefore They were appointed to consider well, what He should be directed to propose.

BUT the Ambassador no sooner came to the Town in great State and Lustre, but He quickly saved them any farther Labour, by declaring, that He would treat with no Body but the King himself; his Business being only to serve the King, with Reference to the Differences between his Majesty, and the Parliament; and pretended that in his short Stay at *London*, He had already discovered that his⁽⁸⁶⁾ Majesty was betrayed; and that his most secret Counsels were discovered: and so there was never any Communication between him, and the King's Council; but all Matters were transacted with the King himself, and Queen, and Lord *Jermyn*, who was not of the Council, and the Lord *Digby*; the Queen promising herself very much from his Negotiation; the Ambassador being then of great Reputation, having been General of the *French* Army in two, or three great Actions, in which his Success had been very notable; and the Queen looked upon him as a Person particularly devoted to her Service; and being of the House of *Lorraine* (the younger Son of the Duke d' *Elboeuf*) He was not without some Alliance to the King; and so He returned to
London

London with such Instructions, and Advice as They thought fit to entrust him with, which were too particular; and with the Privy only of the two other Persons mentioned before.

BUT it quickly appeared after, that He was not sent with any Purpose to do the King Service; but that Cardinal *Mazarin* (who was newly entered upon the Ministry, after the Death of Cardinal *Richelieu*) might take such a View of the Affairs of *England*, as the better to judge what He was to do; and that an Accomodation there might not break his Measures, with Reference to his other Designs; which the Ambassador was easily satisfied it was not like to do. And so, after three, or four Months spent between *Oxford*, and *London*, He returned to *France*; leaving the King's Affairs so much worse than He found them, by having communicated some Instructions, which had been given him at *Oxford*, with over much Confidence, and which less disposed some Persons to Peace than They had been, at *London*.

THE King called the Chancellor one Day to him, ^{The King directs the Chancellor of the Exchequer to prepare a Proclamation for dissolving the Parliament at Westminster.} and told him, "that He thought there was too much Honour done to those Rebels at *Westminster* in all his Declarations, by his mentioning them as Part of the Parliament; which as long as They should be thought to be, They would have more Authority by their continuing their Sitting in the Place, whither They were first called, than all the other Members, though so much more numerous, would have, when They should be convened any where else (there being a Thought of convening them to *Oxford*) therefore He knew no Reason why He should not positively declare them to be dissolved; and so forbid them to sit, or meet any more there. He said, that He knew learned Men of an Opinion, that that Act for the Continuance of the Parliament was void from the Beginning; and

“and that it is not in the Power of the King, to
 “bar himself from the Power of dissolving it; which
 “is to be deprived of an essential Part of his Sove-
 “reignty: But if the Act were good and valid in
 “Law, They had dissolved themselves, by their
 “Force, in driving so many Members, and even
 “his Majesty himself, who was their Head, from
 “the Parliament; and had forfeited their Right of
 “sitting there, and all that the Act had given
 “them, by their Treason, and Rebellion; which the
 “very being a Parliament could not support: And
 “therefore He wished, that a Proclamation might
 “be prepared, to declare them actually dissolved;
 “and expressly forbidding them to meet, or any Bo-
 “dy to own them, or submit to them, as a Parlia-
 “ment.”

*His Advice to
 the King on
 that Subject.*

THE Chancellor told him, that “He perceived
 “by his Majesty’s Discourse, that He had very much
 “considered the Argument, and was well prepared
 “in it; which for his Part He was not. But He
 “besought him to think it worth a very strict Re-
 “flection; and to hear the Opinion of learned Men,
 “before He resolved upon it. That it was of a ve-⁽⁸⁷⁾
 “ry nice and delicate Nature, at which not only
 “the People in general, but those of his own Par-
 “ty, and even of his Council, would take more
 “Umbrage, than upon any one Particular, that
 “had happened since the Beginning of the War.
 “That He could not imagine that his forbidding
 “them to meet any more at *Westminster*, would
 “make one Man the less to meet there; but He
 “might forbid them upon such Grounds and Rea-
 “sons, as might bring more to them: And that
 “They who had severed themselves from them, up-
 “on the Guilt of their Actions; might return, and
 “be reconciled to them, upon their Unity of Opi-
 “nion. That it had been the first powerful Re-
 “proach They had corrupted the People with, to-
 “wards

"wards his Majesty, that He intended to dissolve
 "this Parliament, notwithstanding the Act for con-
 "tinuance thereof; and if He had Power to do
 "that, He might likewise by the same Power, re-
 "peal all the other Acts made this Parliament; where-
 "of some were very precious to the People: And
 "as his Majesty had always disclaimed any such
 "Thought, so such a Proclamation as He now men-
 "tioned, would confirm all the Fears and Jealou-
 "sies, which had been infused into them; and
 "would trouble many of his own true Subjects.

"THAT for the Invalidity of the Act from the
 "Beginning, He was in his own Opinion inclined
 "to hope, that it might be originally void; for the
 "Reasons and Grounds his Majesty had mentioned;
 "and that the Parliament itself, if this Rebellion
 "was suppressed, might be of the same Judgment,
 "and declare it accordingly, which would enable
 "him quickly to dissolve it. But till then, He
 "thought all the Judges together, even those who
 "were in his own Quarters, and of unquestionable
 "Affection to his Majesty, would not declare any
 "such Invalidity; and much less, that any private
 "Man, how learned soever, would avow that Judge-
 "ment: in which his Majesty might easily satis-
 "fy himself, having so many of the Judges, and
 "many other excellent Men of the Robe then at
 "*Oxford*. For their having dissolved themselves, or
 "forfeited their Right of sitting there, by their
 "Treason, and Rebellion, *He said*, He could less
 "understand it, than the other Argument of Inva-
 "lidity; for that the Treason, and Rebellion could
 "only concern, and be penal to the Persons who
 "committed them; it was possible many might sit
 "there, He was sure many had a Right to sit there,
 "who had always opposed every Illegal, and every
 "Rebellious Act; and therefore the Faults of the
 "others, could never forfeit any Right of theirs,
 "who

“who had committed no Fault: And upon the whole Matter, concluded as He had begun, that his Majesty would very thoroughly consult it, before He did so much as incline in his own Wishes.”

HIS Majesty said, He had spoken more Reason against it, than He had thought could have been alledged: However, He bade him confer with his Attorney General, who, He believed, was of another Opinion. The Chancellor moved his Majesty, that since the Ground of what should be resolved on in this Point, must be expressed in the Proclamation, the Attorney might put his own Conceptions in Writing, and then his Majesty would the better judge of them. The King said, it seemed reasonable to him, and He had proposed it to him, but He had declined it, and commended the Pen his Majesty had used to employ, as very clear and significant; and said, if He had an Hour's Conference with that Person, the Business would be done. Whereupon the Chancellor went immediately to his Lodging, chusing rather to use that Civility towards him, than to send for him; who did not love him⁽⁸⁸⁾ so well as He had done, before He was his superior Officer.

His Conferences with the Attorney General thereon.

AFTER a long Conference together, and many Circumlocutions (which was his natural Way of Discourse) and asking Questions, *why not this?* and *why not that?* without expressing his own Opinion; at last He confessed, that there must be no Attempt to dissolve them, “though it might be even that might be lawful in many Respects,” but that it would be sufficient to declare the Force which had been, and still was upon them, that rendered them not free; and so They ought not to be looked upon as a Parliament; and that They might be required, to adjourn from Time, to Time, till all the Members might with Safety repair to, and sit with them;

them; in all which the other agreed with him, and so They parted; the Chancellor promising that, against the next Morning, He would prepare a Proclamation agreeable to that, which He thought to be their joint Meaning; for He did not observe any Difference to be between them. The next Morning the Attorney came to his Lodging, where He found the Draught prepared, which as soon as He had read, He said did in no Degree express, or comprehend the Sense that had been agreed between them: And thereupon, He entered again into the same Discourse He had made before, and more perplexed than before; being most offended with the Preamble, wherein it was declared, that the King neither could, or intended, to break the Parliament: which was so contrary to what He had infused into the King; and which the Chancellor thought most necessary, to contradict that Reproach, which naturally would be cast upon his Majesty. In the End, when He had wearied himself with the Debate, They came both again to mean the same Thing; which was no other, than was agreed before, though as the Attorney said, it was not expressed in the Draught before them: whereupon it was agreed between them, that against the next Morning, either of them should make a Draught apart; and then, when They came together, it would easily be adjusted.

BUT the next Morning They were as far asunder as before, and the Attorney had prepared no Paper, and said, it needed not, the Difference being very small, and would be rectified with changing, or leaving out a Word or two; which the Chancellor desired him to do, and to leave out, or put in, what He pleased: which when He went about to do, twenty other Things occurred to him; and so He entered upon new Discourses, without concluding any Thing; and every Day entertained the King with

with an Account, as if all were agreed; but upon Conference with the Chancellor, his Majesty wondered at the Delay, and told him, He wondered at it, for the Attorney spake still as clearly to him, as it was possible for any Man to do, and therefore the putting it in Writing could not be hard. The other answered him, that it would never be done any other Way, than that, which He had first proposed to him; and therefore besought his Majesty, that He would oblige the Attorney to put his own Conceptions, which He made so clear to him, into Writing; and then, his Majesty having likewise what the Chancellor prepared in his Hands, He would easily conclude which should stand; and otherwise there would never be any Conclusion.

*Whose
Draught of a
Proclamation
the King
shows to the
Chancellor of
the Exche-
quer.*

ABOUT two Days after, the Chancellor came into the Garden where the King was walking; and calling him shortly to him, in some Disorder, his Majesty told him, "He was never in that Amaze-ment in his Life; that He had at last, not without a very positive Command, obliged the Attorney to bring him such a Draught in Writing, as was agreeable to his own Sense; and that He had⁽²⁹⁾ now done it; but in such a Manner, that He no more understood what the Meaning of it was, than if it were in *Welsh*, which was the Language of the Attorney's Country: only, He said, "He was very sure it contained nothing of the Sense He had ever expressed to him;" and so bade him follow him into a little Room at the End of the Garden; where as soon as He was entered He shut the Door, because there were many People in the Garden; and then pulled a Paper out of his Pocket, and bade him read it; which when he had done, it being all in the Attorney's own Hand, He said, "it deserved Wonder indeed;" and it was so rough, perplexed, and insignificant, that no Man could judge by it, or out of it, what the Writer proposed

to

to himself. And it made so great an Impression upon the King (who had before thought him a Man of a Master Reason, and that no Man had so clear Notions) that He never after had any Esteem of him.

THE Truth is, He was a Man very unlike any other Man; of a very good natural Wit, improved by Conversation with learned Men, but not at all by Study, and Industry: And then his Conversation was most with Men, though much superior to him in Parts, who rather admired, than informed him, of which his Nature (being the proudest Man living) made him not capable, because not desirous. His greatest Faculty was, and in which He was a Master, to make difficult Matters more intricate and perplexed; and very easy Things to seem more hard than they were. The King considered the Matter and Subject of that Proclamation, at the Council; where that Draught the Chancellor had provided, was agreed to; and the Attorney seemed to be satisfied in it; and was content to have it believed, that it had been consulted with him; though He never forgave the Chancellor for exposing him in that Manner; by which He found He had lost much Ground.

AFTER the Treaty of *Uxbridge*, most of the Commissioners had given so good a Testimony of the Chancellor's Diligence and Industry, that the King, shortly after his Return, very graciously took Notice of it to him; and above all, of his Affection to the Church, of which, He said, Dr. *Steward* had so fully informed him, that He looked upon him as one of the few, who was to be relied upon in that Particular: at which He said, himself was not at all surprized, having long known his Affection, and Judgment in that Point; but confessed He was surprized with the Carriage of some others, from whom He had expected another Kind of Behaviour, in Matters

*Character of
the Attorney
General.*

*The King's
Approbation
of the Chan-
cellor of the
Exchequer's
Behaviour in
The Treaty of
Uxbridge.*

Matters of the Church; and named Sir Orlando Bridgman, upon whom He said, He had always looked, being the Son of a Bishop, as so firm, that He could not be shaken; and therefore He was the more amazed, to hear what Condescensions He had been willing to have made, in what concerned Religion; and pressed the Chancellor to answer some Questions He asked him about that Transaction: to the Particulars whereof He excused himself from answering, by the Protestation, They had all taken before the Treaty, with his Majesty's Approbation: though indeed himself had been very much surprised with the first Discovery of that Temper in that Gentleman, which He had never before suspected: and ever after said, that "He was a Man of excellent Parts, and honestly inclined; and would chuse much rather to do well, than ill; but if it were not safe for him to be steady in those Resolutions, He was so much given to find out Expedients to satisfy unreasonable Men, that He would at last be drawn to yield to any Thing, He should be powerfully pressed to do.

THE King at that Time having resolved to separate^(so) the Prince his Son from himself, by sending him into the West, the Chancellor had a great Desire to excuse himself from attending upon the Prince in that Journey; and represented to his Majesty, that his Office made it more proper for him to be near his Majesty's Person; and therefore renewed his Suit again to him, that his Service might be spared in that Employment: which He was the less inclined to, because He had discovered, that neither the Duke of Richmond, or the Earl of Southampton did intend to wait upon his Highness in that Expedition: But the King told him positively, and with some Warmth, that if He would not go, He would not send his Son: whereupon He submitted to do any Thing which His Majesty should judge fit for his Service.

THE

THE Chancellor speaking one Day with the Duke of *Richmond*, who was exceedingly kind to him, of the ill State of the King's Affairs, and of the Prince's Journey into the West, the Duke asked him, whether He was well resolved to carry the Prince into *France*, when He should be required. He answered, that there had been no such Thing mentioned to him, nor could He ever be made instrumental in it, but in one Case, which was, to prevent his falling into the Hands of the Parliament; and in that Case, He did believe every honest Man would rather advise his going any whither, than being taken by them: Yet even in that Case, He should prefer many Places before *France*. The Duke wished He might stay till then, implying that He doubted it was the present Design; but there was never any Thing discovered to make it believed, that there was a Design at that Time formed to such a Purpose: yet the Lord *Digby*, who had all Familiarity, and Confidence with the Chancellor, shortly after gave him Occasion to apprehend, that there might even then be some such Intention.

AFTER a long Discourse, of the great Satisfaction the King had in his (the Chancellor's) Service; and how much He was pleased with his Behaviour in the Treaty at *Uxbridge*; and that He had not a greater Confidence in any Man's Affection, and Fidelity; He said, his Majesty had a great Mind to confer with him upon a Point of the last Importance; but that He was kept from it, by an Apprehension, that He was of a different Judgment from his Majesty in that Particular. The other answered, that He was very sorry that the King was reserved for such a Reason; for though he knew, the Chancellor did never pretend to think one Thing, when He did think another, and so might take the Boldness to differ from his Majesty in his Judgment; yet the King could not believe, that

Lord Digby's Discourse with the Chancellor concerning the Prince's going to France.

* M

He

He would discover the Secret, or refuse to do any Thing that became an honest Man, upon his Command, though He did not believe it counsellable. Whereupon, He entered upon a very reasonable Consideration, of the low Condition of the King; of the Discontent and Murmur of the Court, and of the Camp; how very difficult a Thing it was like to be, to raise such an Army as would be fit to take the Field; and how much more unfit it would be, for the King to suffer himself to be enclosed in any Garrison; which He must be, if there were no Army for him to be in. If the first Difficulty should be mastered, and an Army made ready to march, there could be little Doubt, how great soever their Distractions were at *London*, but that the Parliament would be able to send another more numerous, and much better supplied than the King's could be; and then, if the King's Army was beaten, He could have no Hope ever to raise another; his Quarters already being very streight; and after a Defeat, the victorious Army would find no Opposition; nor was there any Garrison that could oppose them any considerable Time; *London* would pour out more Forces; that all the West would be swallowed up in an Instant; and in such a Case He asked him, whether He would not think it fit, and assist to the carrying the Prince out of the Kingdom.

The Chancellor's Reply.

THE Chancellor told him, He would deliver his Opinion freely to him, and was willing He should let the King know it. That such a Prospect as He had supposed, might, and ought to be prudently considered; but that it must be with great Secrecy, for that there were already to his Knowledge, some Whispers of such a Purpose; and that it was the true End of sending the Prince into the West; which, if it should be believed, it would never be in their Power to execute, though the Occasion should be most pressing; therefore desired there might

might not be the least Whisper of any Contingency, that might make it fit. For the Matter itself, it must never be done, upon any Supposition of a Necessity; but when the Necessity should be real, and in View, it ought to be resolved, and executed at once: And He would make no Scruple of carrying him rather into *Turkey*, than suffering him to be made a Prisoner to the Parliament.

THE Lord *Digby* replied, that though the King would be very well pleased with this Opinion of his, yet He would not be surprized with it; since He knew his Affection, and Wisdom to be such, that in such an Extremity, He could not but have that Resolution: therefore that was not the Point that the King doubted He would differ with him in. Then He continued the Discourse, that he hoped there would not such an Occasion fall out; and that the Divisions at *London* would yet open some Door for a good Peace to enter at; but if They should unite, and should send out a strong Army, and likewise appoint the *Scots* to march towards them; how the King would do between two such Armies, was a terrible Prospect: and then the least Blow would raise so general a Consternation, that the King would be more disquieted by his Friends, and Servants, than by the Enemy: That his Council was so constituted, that They would look upon the Prince's leaving the Kingdom, as less advisable, than giving himself up to the Parliament; and that many Men were yet so weak, as to believe, that the best Way the King could take for his Security, and Preservation of his Posterity, was, to deliver up both Himself, and all his Children, into the Hands of the Parliament; and that They would then give him better Conditions, than They had offered in their Treaties; having it then in their Power to keep all such Persons from him, as They were dissatisfied with.

IF this Opinion should once spread itself, as upon any signal Defeat it would undoubtedly do, it must be expected, that the Council, and most of the Lords, who looked upon themselves as ruined for their Loyalty, out of their natural Apprehension, would imagine, that the Prince being then in the West, and at Liberty to do what should be thought fit, would be directed by the King, to transport himself into Parts beyond the Sea; and the Queen his Mother being then in *France*, most probably thither; which was a Circumstance that would likewise make his Transportation more universally odious. So that upon this Reflection, and erroneous Animadversion, the King would be, in the first unfortunate Conjunction, importuned by all about him, to send for the Prince; or at least to send such Orders to those to whose Care He was entrusted, that They should not presume to transport him beyond the Seas, in what Exigent soever. Most Men would believe, that They should merit of the Parliament by this Advice, and would prosecute it with the more Earnestness and Importunity; whilst those Few who discerned the Mischief and⁽⁹²⁾ Ruin that must flow from it, would not have the Courage to deliver their Opinions in Publick, for Fear of being accused of the Counsel; and by this Means the King might be so wearied and tired with Importunity, that against his Judgment, He might be prevailed with, to sign such a Direction and Order, as is before mentioned; though his Majesty was clearly satisfied in his Understanding, that if both himself, and the Prince were in their Hands together, the best that could happen, would be Murdering him, and Crowning his Son; whereas if his Son were at Liberty, and out of their Reach, They would get Nothing by his Death, and consequently would not attempt it.

THIS

THIS he said, was the fatal Conjunction the King apprehended; and He then asked the Chancellor, what He would do. To which He answered, without pausing, that He hoped the King had made up a firm Resolution never to depart from his own Virtue, upon which his Fate depended: and that if He forsook himself, He had no Reason to depend upon the Constancy of any other Man, who had Nothing to support that Confidence, but the Conscience of doing what was just: that no Man could doubt the Lawfulness of obeying him, in carrying the Prince out of the Kingdom, to avoid his being taken by the Rebels; and He was not only ready to obey in that Case, but would confidently advise it, as a Thing in Policy and Prudence necessary to be done. But if the King, being at Liberty, and with his own Counsellors and Servants, should under his Hand forbid the Prince to transport himself, and forbid all about him, to suffer it to be done, He would never be guilty of disobeying that express Command; though He should be very sorry to receive it. He wished the King would speak with him of it, that He might take the Boldness to conjure him, never to put an honest, and a faithful Servant to that unjust Streight, to do any Thing expressly contrary to his plain, and positive Command, upon Pretence, of knowing his secret Pleasure; which is exposing him to publick Justice, and Reproach, which can never be wiped out by the Conscience of the other; and that the Artifice was not worthy the Royal Breast of a great Monarch. This, he said, was still upon the Supposition of the King's Liberty; but if He were a Prisoner in the Hands of his Enemies (though that should not shake his Resolution, or make him say Things He doth not intend, upon Imagination that others will know his Meaning) the Case would be different; and honest Men would pursue former Re-

solutions, though They should be countermanded, according to Circumstances.

THE Conference ended; and was never after resumed: nor did the King ever in the least Degree, enter upon the Argument with the Chancellor, though He had many private Conferences with him upon all that occurred to him with Reference to what the Prince should do in the West; and of all the melancholick Contingencies, which might fall out in his own Fortune. And it was generally believed, that his Majesty had a much greater Confidence in the Chancellor, than in the other, whose Judgment He had no Reverence for; and this made the Chancellor afterwards believe, that all the other Discourse from the Lord *Digby*, proceeded rather from some Communication of Counsels He had with the Queen, than any Directions from the King. And He did upon concurrent Circumstances ever think, that the Queen did from the first Minute of the Separation of the Prince, from the King, intend to draw his Highness into *France*, that He might be near her, and under her Tuition, before any thing in the Declension of the King's Fortune required it, or made it counsellable; and therefore had appointed the Lord *Digby*, her Creature, who⁽⁹³⁾ She knew had great Friendship with the Chancellor, to feel his Pulse, and discover, whether He (in whom She had never Confidence) might be applicable to her Purposes. But He often declared, that the King himself never intimated the least Thought of the Prince's leaving the Kingdom, till after the Battle of *Naseby*; and when *Fairfax* was marched with his Army into the West; and himself was in Despair of being able to raise another Army; and even then, when He signified his Pleasure to that Purpose, He left the Time, and the Manner, and the Place to them, who were especially trusted by him, about the Prince; as will appear by the particular

ticular Papers which are preserved of that Affair; and wherein it will likewise appear, that his Majesty received infinite Satisfaction, and Content in the whole Management of that Affair, and the happy and secure Transportation of the Prince, in the just and proper Season, and when all the Kingdom was right glad that it was done.

As his Majesty was more particularly gracious to the Chancellor from the Time of the Treaty at *Uxbridge*; so there was no Day passed, without his conferring with him in private upon his most secret Considerations, and Apprehensions, before his Departure with the Prince for the *West*. One Day He told him, He was very glad of what the Duke of *Richmond* had done the Day before; and indeed He had done somewhat the Day before, which very much surpris'd the Chancellor. When his Majesty arose from Council, the Duke of *Richmond* whispered somewhat privately to him, upon which the King went into his Bedchamber; and the Duke called the Chancellor, and told him, the King would speak with him, and so took him by the Hand, and led him into the Bedchamber; the Privilege, and Dignity of which Room was then so punctually preserved, that the King very rarely called any Privy Counsellor to confer with him there, who was not of the Bedchamber; which maintained a just Reverence to the Place, and an Esteem of those who were admitted to attend there.

As soon as He came into the Room, before He said any Thing to the King, who was there alone, the Duke spake to the Chancellor, and told him, that He had been brought up from his Childhood by the Crown, and had always paid it the Obedience of a Child; that as He had taken a Wife with the Approbation, and Advice of the Crown; so He had never made a Friendship, which He took to be a Kind of Marriage, without the King's

*The Chancellor
with the
King's Ap-
probation,
forms a
Friendship
with the Duke
of Rich-
mond.*

Privity, and particular Approbation; that He had long had a Kindness for him, but had taken Time to know him well, which He thought He now did; and therefore had asked his Majesty's Consent, that He might make a Friendship with him: and then said to the King, "Sir, have I not your Approbation to this Conjunction?" to which his Majesty said, "yes, my Lord, I am very glad of it; and I will pass my Word to you for the Chancellor, that you will not repent it;" with many gracious Expressions to them both: And so the Duke led him out of the Room again, saying, now Mr. Chancellor it is in your Power to deceive me. And to this it was, that his Majesty's Discourse related the next Day, when He told him, He was glad of what had passed, &c. and said, He hoped He would give him good Counsel; for He had not of late lived towards him in the Manner he was used to do; that He knew well the Duke was a very honest, and worthy Man, and had all the Kindness, as well as Duty for his Majesty; but that He was grown fullen, or discontented, and had not the same Countenance He used to have; for which He could imagine no other Reason, but that his Man *Webb* gave him ill Counsel: He said, He was well contented that He should⁽⁹⁴⁾ take Notice, that his Majesty was not well satisfied; and asked him suddenly, when the Duke was at *Oriel* College with them; *Oriel* College was the Lodging of the Lord Treasurer, where that Committee for secret Affairs, of which the Duke was one, used to meet. The Chancellor answered, that indeed the Duke had not been there lately, which he thought had proceeded from his Attendance upon his Majesty, or some other necessary Divertisement. The King said, it proceeded not from thence; and that He might take Occasion from his Absence from thence, to let himself into that Discourse; and afterwards proceed as He thought fit.

THE

THE Duke was a Person of a very good Under-
standing; and of so great Perfection, and Punctua-
lity in all Matters of Honesty, and Honour, that
He was infinitely superior to any Kind of Tempta-
tion. He had all the Warmth, and Passions of a
Subject, and a Servant, and a Friend for the King,
and for his Person; but He was then a Man of a
high Spirit; and valued his very Fidelity at the
Rate it was worth; and not the less, for that it had
almost stood single for some Time. The Chancellor
was very sorry for this Discovery; and chose to wait
upon the Duke the same Day, near the Hour when
the Meeting used to be at *Oriel College*: And when
He had spent a short Time with him, He said, He
thought it was Time to go to *Oriel College*, and
asked his Grace, whether He would please to go
thither; for which He making some Excuse, the
other pressed him with some Earnestness, and said,
it was observed that He had a good Time declined
that Meeting, and if He should not now go thi-
ther, He should be doubtful there was some Rea-
son for it.

THE Duke replied, that He had indeed been
absent from thence for some Time, and that He
would deal clearly with him as his Friend, but de-
sired it should not be known; that He was resolved
to be there no more. Then complained, that the
King was not kind to him; at least had not that
Confidence in him, which He had used to have:
And then spake of many Particulars loosely; and
especially, that before the Treaty, He had advised
the King to use all the Means He could to draw
them to a Treaty, for many Advantages which were
like to be gotten by it; and to that Purpose, pro-
duced a Letter that He had newly received from
the Countess of *Carlisle*, and read it to his Majesty,
who then seemed not to be moved with the Con-
tents; but afterwards in several Discourses reflected
upon

*Character of
the Duke of
Richmond.*

upon it in such a Manner, as if He were jealous, that the Duke held too much Correspondence with that People : Which He looked upon, as such a Point of Diffidence, that it was no longer fit for him to be present, when the secret Part of his Affairs was transacted ; and so He had, and would forbear to meet in that Place, till his Majesty should entertain a better Opinion of him : yet He concealed the Trouble of Mind which He sustained ; and wished, that no Notice might be taken of it.

Whom He endeavours to reconcile to the King ;

THE Chancellor told him, it was too late for that Caution ; that the Lords themselves could not but observe his long Absence, who before used to be the most punctual ; and confessed to him, that the King himself had spoken to him of it with a Sense of Wonder, and Dislike ; which, He said, He was to blame himself for ; since the Honour He had done him to the King, had likewise disposed his Majesty to trust him so far, as to express some Dissatisfaction He had in his Grace's late Carriage and Behaviour. The Duke seemed not displeased with the Communication, but thereupon entered into a fuller, and warmer Discourse than before ; how much the King had withdrawn his Confidence from him, and trusted others much more than him. In Sum, it was easy to discern, that the Thing that⁽⁹⁵⁾ troubled him, was the Power and Credit that *John Ashburnham* had with the King ; which his Vanity made him own to that Degree, that He was not content to enjoy the Benefit of it, except He made it publick, and to be taken Notice of by all Men ; which could not but reflect upon his Honour : And when the Chancellor seemed to think it impossible, that himself could believe, that the King could prefer a Man of *Mr. Ashburnham's* Talent, before his Grace ; He proceeded with many Instances, and insisted with most Indignation upon one.

THAT

THAT about a Year before, Sir *John Lucas*, who was well known to his Grace, having met him abroad in his Travels, and ever after paid a particular Respect to him, had applied himself to him, and desired his Favour, that when there should be any Opportunity offered, He would recommend him to the King, to whom He was not unknown; that his Affection to his Majesty's Service was notorious enough, and that his Sufferings were so likewise; his House being the first that was plundered in the Beginning of the War; by which, the Loss He sustained in Furniture, Plate, Money, and Stock, was very considerable; so that He might modestly hope, that when his Majesty scattered his Favours upon others of his own Rank, his poor Service might likewise be remembered: But He had seen Men raised to Dignities, who He was sure had not the Advantage over him in their Sufferings, whatever They might have in their Actings; and He desired no more, but (since it was too evident that his Majesty's Wants were great, and that Money would do him some Service) that He might receive that Degree of Honour which others had, and He would make such a Present to him, as should manifest his Gratitude; and He desired to owe the Obligation to his Grace, and to receive it only by his Mediation.

HE said, He had moved this Matter, with the Relation of all the Circumstances, to his Majesty, who spake very graciously of the Gentleman, as a Person of Merit, but said, He was resolved to make no more Lords; which He received as a very good Answer, and looked upon as a good Resolution, and commended it; desiring only, that if at any Time his Majesty found it necessary to vary from that Resolution, He would remember his Proposition, and gratify that Gentleman; which He promised to do; and with all which He acquainted the Person concerned;

cerned ; thinking it could not but well satisfy him. But He told him, that He was sorry that He could not receive the Honour, by his Grace's Recommendation ; but for the Thing itself, He could have it when He would ; and shortly after it was dispatched by Mr. *Ashburnham* : He asked, whether this was not preferring Mr. *Ashburnham* very much before him. The Chancellor told him, He was preferred as the better Market Man ; and that He ought not to believe, that the King's Affection swayed him to that Preference, but an Opinion, that the other would make the better Bargain. He replied, his Majesty was deceived in that, for He had told him what the other meant to give, without the least Thought of reserving any Thing for himself ; whereas his Majesty had now received five hundred Pounds less, and his Market Man had gotten so much for his Pains.

*And the King
to the Duke of
Richmond.*

IN Conclusion, He prevailed so far with him, that They went that Afternoon together to the Committee to *Oriel* College ; and the next Day the Chancellor spake with the King again, and told him, that the Duke had been in the Afternoon with the Committee, where many Things had been consulted ; and that He found, all his Trouble proceeded⁽⁹⁶⁾ from an Apprehension, that his Majesty had withdrawn his Affection from him ; at least that He, the Duke, had not the same Credit with his Majesty, which He had formerly had ; and that the Sense, and Fear of that, could not but make an Impression upon a good Servant, who loved his Master as well as He did. His Majesty said, They two should not live as well together, as They had done, as long as the Duke kept his Man *Webb* ; who made him believe, that the King was wholly governed by *Ashburnham*, and cared not for any Body else. He said, no Body who knew him, could believe He could be governed by *Ashburnham* ; who, though an honest Man,

Man, and one that He believed loved him well, no Man thought was of an Understanding superior to his Majesty; and enlarged himself upon this Argument so much, that He seemed as it were glad of the Opportunity, to clear himself from that Aspersion, or Imputation.

It is a very great Misfortune for any Prince to be suspected to be governed by any Man; for as the Reproach is of all others the most grievous, so They think the trusting weak Men, who are much short of their own Vigour of Wit, and Understanding, is a sufficient Vindication from that Calumny; and so, before They are aware of it, They decline wiser Men, who are fit to advise them, and give themselves to weaker, upon an Imagination, that no Body will ever suspect, They can be governed by them. In Fine, He found the Work too hard *But without Success.* for him; the King being so much incensed against *Webb*, that He expected the Duke should turn him away: and the Duke himself, looked upon the King's Prejudice, as infused into him by *Ashburnham*, upon particular Malice; having often desired, that some Accuser might charge *Webb*, and He be heard to answer for himself; which the King not being willing to admit, the other was unwilling to dismiss a Servant, his Secretary, who had served him long, and was very useful to him; and who indeed was never suspected for any Infidelity, or Want of Affection to his Master: and so the Chancellor, to his great Trouble, was not able to remove that Cloudiness that remained in both their Countenances; which never produced the least ill Effect in the View or Observation of any; the Duke's Duty being never in any Degree diminished; and the King's Kindness to him continuing with many gracious Evidences, to his Death.

The King's
last Conference
with the
Chancellor of
the Exche-

THE last Conference his Majesty had with the Chancellor, was the very Day the Prince began his Journey towards the West, and indeed after He had received his Blessing; when his Majesty sent for him into his Bedchamber; and repeated some Things he had mentioned before. He told him, "there had been many Things which had troubled him, with Reference to his Son's Absence from him; for all which, but one, He had satisfied himself: the one was, the Inconvenience which might arise from the Weakness and Folly of his Governour; against which He had provided, as well as He could, by obliging the Prince to follow the Advice of his Council in all Things; which He was well assured He would do; and He had given them as much Authority, as They could wish. Another was, that there was one Servant about the Prince, who He thought, had too much Credit with him, which was *Elliot*; who He did not intend should be with him in the Journey; and had therefore sent him into *France* to the Queen, with Direction to her Majesty, to keep him there; and if He should return whilst the Prince remained in the West, that He should be sent to his Majesty; and not suffered to stay with his Highness; and that was all the Care He could take in those two Particulars: But there was⁽⁹⁷⁾ a Third, in which He knew not what to do, and that troubled him much more than the other two." When the Chancellor seemed full of Expectation to know what that might be, the King said, "I have observed of late some kind of Sharpness, upon many Occasions, between *Colepepper* and you; and though you are joined with other honest Men, yet my great Confidence is upon you two: I know not that the Fault is in you; nay, I must confess, that it is very often in him; but let it be where it will, any Difference, and

"Unkind-

“Unkindness between you two, must be at my Charge; And I must tell you the Fear I have of it, gives me much Trouble: I have spoken very plainly to him my Apprehension in this Point, within this Hour; and He hath made as fair Promises to me as I can wish; and upon my Conscience I think He loves you, though He may sometimes provoke you to be angry.”

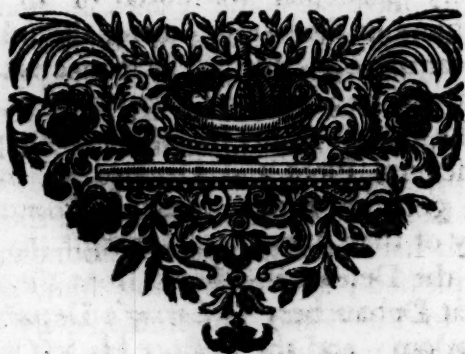
THE King here making a Pause, the Chancellor, out of Countenance, said, “He was very sorry, that He had ever given his Majesty any Occasion for such an Apprehension; but very glad, that He had vouchsafed to inform him of it; because He believed He should give his Majesty such Assurance in that Particular, as would fully satisfy him: He assured his Majesty, that He had a great Esteem of the Lord *Colepepper*; and though He might have at some Times Passions which were inconvenient, He was so confident of himself, that They should not provoke, or disturb him, that He was well content, that his Majesty should condemn, and think him in the Fault, if any Thing should fall out, of Prejudice to his Service, from a Difference between them two.”

With which his Majesty appeared abundantly satisfied, and pleased; and embracing him, gave him his Hand to kiss; and He immediately went to Horse, and followed the Prince: And this was the last Time the Chancellor ever saw that gracious and excellent King.

It was upon the 4th of *March*, in the Year 1644, The Chancellor attends the Prince into the West; and is there first assaulted by the Gout. that the Prince parted from the King his Father. He lodged that Night at *Farringdon*; having made his Journey thither, in one continued Storm of Rain, from the Minute He left *Oxford*: And from thence went the next Day, to the Garrison of the *Devizes*; and the third to the City of *Bath*; which being a safe Place, and within seven, or eight Miles of *Bristol*;

tol; He staid there two, or three Days. And in this Journey the Chancellor was first assaulted with the Gout; having never had the least Apprehension of it before; but from his coming to *Bath*, He was not able to stand; and so went by Coach to *Bristol*; where in few Days He recovered that first Lameness; which ever after afflicted him too often. And so the Year 1644 ended, which shall conclude this Part.

Montpelier,
6th November,
1669.



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The LIFE of

EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON

From his Birth to the Restoration of the
ROYAL FAMILY in 1660.

PART the FOURTH.

(98) **A** Very particular Memorial of all material Affairs in the West, during the subsequent Year of 1645, during the Prince's Residence in the West--- The State, and Temper of that Country, after the Defeat of his Majesty's Army at *Naseby*--- The several Plots and Devices of the Lord *Goring*, to get the Prince into his Power--- The Debauchery of that Army, and amongst the Officers of it; and the Defeats it suffered from the Enemy, through that Debauchery--- *Goring's* Departure out of the Kingdom; and the Posture He left his Army in--- The beating up of their Quarters afterwards--- The entering of *Fairfax* into the West with his Army; and his sudden taking the Towns there--- The mutinous Behaviour of Sir *Richard Greenvil*, and the Quarrels, and Conflicts between the Troops under his Command, with those under the Lord *Goring*--- The Prince's Retreat, by Degrees backward into *Cornwall*, as *Fairfax* advanced--- The several Messages, and Orders from the King, for the transporting the Prince out of *England*; and all the

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Directions, and Resolutions thereupon; and the several Messages from the Queen, and the Earl of *St. Albans*; with the Assurance of a Supply of six thousand Foot, under the Command of *Ruvignie*, promised confidently to be landed in *Cornwall*, within one Month; when there was not any such Thing in Nature, nor one Company raised, or Ship in Readiness, or in View for such an Expedition, &c. --- The King's obliging the Lord *Hopton*, to take Charge of those broken and dissolute Troops --- The Commitment of Sir *Richard Greenvil*, for not submitting to be commanded by him; and for endeavouring to raise a Party in the Country, to treat with the Enemy, for the Security, and Neutrality of *Cornwall*; and the Routing the Lord *Hopton*'s Troops at *Torrington* --- The Prince's Retreat thereupon to *Pendennis*; and the Factions, and Conspiracies between some of his own Servants, and some Gentlemen of the Country, to hinder the Prince from going out of the Kingdom; and the Departure of his Highness from *Pendennis*, in the End of that Year 1645, and his Arrival in the Island of *Scilly*, is contained in Papers, orderly and methodically set down; which Papers and Relation, are not now at Hand, but are safe; and will be easily found: Together with his Highness's Stay in the⁽⁹⁹⁾ Island of *Scilly*: From whence the next Day, the Lord *Colepepper* was dispatched with Letters, to the Queen to *Paris*, to give Notice of his Highness's being in that Island; and to desire Money, Arms, and Ammunition for the Defence thereof: And at the same Time another Vessel was sent into *Ireland*, to give the Marquis of *Ormond* likewise Information of it; and to desire that two Companies of Foot might be sent thither, to encrease that Garrison; and to defend it in case the Enemy should attack it --- His Highness's Stay in *Scilly*, near six Weeks; until the Lords *Capel*, and *Hopton* came thither; after

after They had made Conditions for the disbanding their Troops, with *Fairfax*; which *Goring's* Troops made it necessary to do: They not only refusing to obey all Orders, but mingling every Day with the Troops of the Enemy; and remaining quietly together in the same Quarters, drinking and making merry with each other --- The Report of a Fleet designed from the Parliament for *Scilly*, and those Lords viewing the *Island*, and not looking upon it as tenable, caused a new Consultation to be held, whether it were fit for his Highness to remain there, till the Return of the Lord *Colepepper*, or to remove sooner; and whither He should remove; the Frigate which brought the Prince from *Pendennis* being still kept in Readiness at *Scilly*, upon the Foresight that his Remove might come to be necessary --- That upon this Consultation it was resolved, that it would not be safe for his Highness to remain there; but that He should transport himself from thence, into the Island of *Jersey*; which was done accordingly --- And his Highness's Arrival there about the Beginning of *April*, 1645 --- The Prince's Reception in *Jersey*, by Sir *George Carteret*; and the universal Joy of the Island for his Arrival; with the Situation, and Strength of the Island --- The Lord *Digby's* Arrival in *Jersey*, with two Frigates from *Ireland*, and with two hundred Soldiers; having been at *Scilly*, and there heard of his Highness's Departure for *Jersey* --- His earnest Advice for the Prince his going for *Ireland*; and, when He could not obtain his Highness's Consent, till the Return of the Lord *Colepepper*, his going to *Paris* to persuade the Queen, and to protest against the Prince's going for *France*; against which He inveighed with more Passion than any Man --- The Arrival of Mr. *Thomas Fermyn* from *Paris*, with very positive Orders for the Prince's Repair thither, from the Queen --- And shortly after, the Lord *Colepepper's* Arrival,

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who had been dispatched from her Majesty to return to *Scilly*, before She knew of his Highness's Remove from thence; which Advertisement overtook the Lord *Colepepper* at *Havre de Grace*, after He was embarked; and so He bent his Course thither, and had the same Orders for the Prince his going to *Paris*, as Mr. *Jermyn* had likewise brought.

THERE was none of the Council inclined that his Highness, being in a Place of unquestionable Safety, should suddenly depart from thence; till the State and Condition in which his Majesty was, and his Pleasure, might be known: It was then understood, that his Majesty had left *Oxford*, and was with the *Scotish* Army before *Newark*; which He had caused to be rendered, that the Army might retire; which it presently did, and the King in it, to *Newcastle*: The Prince was yet in his Father's Dominions; some Places in *England* still holding out, as *Oxford*, *Worcester*, *Pendennis*, and other Places; that it would be easy, in a short Time, to understand the King's Pleasure; and that there could be no Inconvenience in expecting it; the Prince's Person being in no possible Danger: But that the Mischief might be very great, if without the King's Direction it were done; whether his Majesty should⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ be well, or ill treated by the *Scots*; and that the Parliament might make it a new Matter of Reproach against the King, that He had sent the Heir Apparent of the Crown out of the Kingdom; which could be no otherwise excused, at least by those who attended him, than by evident and apparent Necessity: Those Reasons appearing of so much Weight to the Prince himself (who had not a natural Inclination to go into *France*) and to all the Council, that the Lord *Capel*, and the Lord *Colepepper*, were desired to go to *Paris*, to satisfy the Queen, why the Prince had deferred yielding a present Obedience to her Command.

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THE Treatment They received at *Paris*; and their Return again to *Jersey*, together with the Lord *Jermyn*, and Lord *Digby*, and some other Persons of Quality: The Lord *Digby* being to return to *Ireland*, with eight thousand Pistoles; which the Cardinal sent towards the Supply of the King's Service there; and being by it, and the Cardinal, so thoroughly convinced of the Necessity of the Prince's going for *France*, that He was more positive for it, than any of the Rest; and had promised the Queen, that He would convert the Chancellor, and make him consent to it; with whom He had a great Friendship --- The Debate at *Jersey* upon their coming back --- The Lord *Capel* adhering to his former Opinion, that we might first know the King's Opinion; towards the receiving of which, He had offered the Queen, and now offered again, to go himself to *Newcastle*, where the King still was; no Body knowing what would be the Issue of the Controversy between the *Scots*, and the Parliament; and if the King should direct it, every Man would willingly attend his Highness; and punctually observe whatsoever the King commanded: And because the Objection might be removed, of his being taken Prisoner, by the Parliament, or his being not suffered by the *Scots* to speak with the King; He did offer, and all who were of his Opinion consented to it, that if He did not return to *Jersey*, within one Month, the Prince should pursue the Queen's Orders; and every Man would attend his Highness into *France*; and a Month's Delay could be of no ill Consequence --- The Prince's Resolution to go presently for *Paris*; --- and the Reasons which moved the Lords *Capel*, and *Hopton*, and the Chancellor, to excuse themselves --- and his Highness's Permission to remain in *Jersey*, from whence They would attend his Commands, when He had any Service for them --- And the sudden Reservedness, and

Strangeness that grew between those, who advised the going, and those who were for staying --- and the Prince's embarking himself for *France*, about *July*, in the Year 1646 ---

ALL these Particulars are so exactly remembered, in those Papers, remaining in a Cabinet easy to be found; that they will quickly be put into a Method; and contain enough to be inserted in the Fourth Part of this Relation.

*Montpelier, 9th.
November, 1669.*

N. B. These Materials were afterwards made Use of by the Author, when He compleated the *History of the Rebellion*, where these Occurrences are treated of more at large.



The LIFE of
EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON

From his Birth to the Restoration of the
ROYAL FAMILY in 1660.

PART the FIFTH.

(101) **T**HE Prince having left *Jersey*, about *July*, The Chancellor of the Exchequer's Residence at Jersey. in the Year 1646; the Chancellor of the Exchequer remained there about two Years after; where He presently betook himself to his Study; and enjoyed (as He was wont to say) the greatest Tranquillity of Mind imaginable. Whilst the Lords *Capel*, and *Hopton* staid there, They lived, and kept House together in *St. Hillary's*; which is the chief Town of the Island; where having a Chaplain of their own, They had Prayers every Day in the Church, at Eleven of the Clock in the Morning; till which Hour They enjoyed themselves in their Chambers, according as They thought fit; the Chancellor betaking himself to the Continuance of the History, which He had begun at *Scilly*, and spending most of his Time at that Exercise. The other two walked, or rode abroad, or read, as They were disposed; but at the Hour of Prayers They always met; and then dined together at the Lord *Hopton's* Lodging, which was the best House; They being lodged at several Houses, with Convenience

nience enough. Their Table was maintained at their joint Expense, only for Dinners; They never using to sup; but met always upon the Sands in the Evening to walk, often going to the Castle to Sir George Carteret; who treated them with extraordinary Kindness and Civility, and spent much Time with them; and in Truth, the whole Island shewed great Affection to them, and all the Persons of Quality invited them to their Houses, to very good Entertainments; and all other Ways expressed great Esteem towards them.

He writes
from thence to
the King.

AND from hence They writ a joint Letter to the King, which They sent to him by Mr. Fanshawe; in which They made great Profession of their Duty to his Majesty, and their Readiness to proceed in his Service; and to wait upon the Prince upon the first Occasion; with such Reasons for their not attending him into *France*, as They thought could not but be satisfactory to his Majesty; declaring, that They had only desired that He would stay so long in a Place of his own, of unquestionable Security, as that They might receive the Signification of his Majesty's Pleasure for his Remove; upon which They were all resolved to have waited upon him: Though it was evident enough to them, that⁽¹⁰²⁾ their Advice would be no longer hearkened unto, after his Highness should arrive with the Queen.

IN *England*, Men's Hopes, and Fears, were raised according to their Tempers; for there was Argument for both Affections in the Transactions, and Occurrences of every Day; it being no easy Matter, to make a Judgment which Party would prevail; nor what They would do if They did. The Lord *Capel* received Advice from his Friends in *England*, to remove from *Jersey* into some Part of the *United Provinces*; that so being in a Place to which there could be no Prejudice, his Friends might the more hopefully solicit for Liberty for him to return into his

his own Country, and that He might live in his own House ; which They had Reason to hope, would not be denied to a Person, who had many Friends, and could not be conceived to have any Enemies ; his Person being worthily esteemed by all. Whereupon with the full Concurrence, and Advice of his two Friends from whom He had great Tenderness to part ; and with whom He renewed his Contract of Friendship at parting, in a particular Manner, upon Foresight of what might happen, He went from thence, and first waited upon the Prince at *Paris*, that He might have his Royal Highness's Approbation, for his Return into *England*, if He might do it upon honourable Conditions : And from thence, with all possible Demonstration of Grace from the Prince, He transported himself to *Middleburgh* in *Zealand* ; where He remained till his Friends procured Liberty for him to return, and remain at his own House. The worthy and noble Things He did after, deserve to be transmitted to Posterity, in some more illustrious Testimony, that may be worthy to be recorded.

THE Lord *Capel* thus leaving *Jersey*, the Lord *Hopton* and the Chancellor remained still there, in the same Conjunction, until, some few Months after, the Lord *Hopton* received the News of the Death of his Wife ; and of the Arrival in *France* of his Uncle, Sir *Aribur Hopton* ; who having been Ambassador from the King in *Spain*, had left that Court, and retired to *Paris* ; from whence He shortly after removed to *Rouën*, with a Purpose, as soon as He had at large conferred with his Nephew, to go into *England*, for the Good and Benefit of both their Fortunes : And upon this Occasion, the Lord *Hopton* likewise left *Jersey*, with all possible Professions of an entire Friendship to the Chancellor, which was never violated in the least Degree to his Death. And the Chancellor being thus left alone,

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And removes
to Sir George
Carteret's.

He was with great Civility, and Friendship invited by Sir George Carteret, to remove from the Town (where He had lived with his Friends till then) and to live with him in the Castle *Elizabeth*; whither He went, the next Day after the Departure of the Lord *Hopton*, and remained there to his wonderful Contentment, in the very chearful Society of Sir George Carteret, and his Lady; in whose House He received all the Liberty, and Entertainment He could have expected in his own Family; of which He always retained so just a Memory, that there was never any Intermiſſion, or Decay of that Friendship He then made: And He remained there, till He was sent for again to attend the Prince, which will be mentioned in it's Time.

Where He
writes the
History of the
Troubles.

He built a Lodging in the Castle, of two or three convenient Rooms, to the Wall of the Church; which Sir George Carteret had repaired, and beautified; and over the Door of his Lodging He set up his Arms, with this Inscription, *Bene Vixit, qui bene Latuit*: And He always took Pleasure in relating, with what great Tranquillity of Spirit (though deprived of the Joy He took in his Wife, and Children) He spent his Time here, amongst his Books⁽¹⁰³⁾ (which He got from *Paris*) and his Papers; between which He seldom spent less than ten Hours in the Day; and it can hardly be believed how much He read, and writ there; insomuch as He did usually compute, that during his whole Stay in *Jersey*, which was some Months above two Years, He writ daily little less than one Sheet of large Paper, with his own Hand; most of which are still to be seen amongst his Papers.

FROM *Hampton Court*, his Majesty writ to the Chancellor of the Exchequer with his own Hand; in which He took Notice that He was writing the *History of the late Troubles*, for which He thanked him, saying, that He knew no Man could do it so well;

well; and that He would not do it the worse, by the Helps that He would very speedily send him (as his Majesty shortly after did, in two Manuscripts very fairly written; containing all Matters of Importance, that had passed from the Time that the Prince of *Wales* went from his Majesty into the West, to the very Time that his Majesty himself

Towards which the King furnished him with the Pages of the Years 1645, and 1646.

went from *Oxford*, to the *Scotish* Army; which were all the Passages in the Years 1645, and 1646) He used many gracious Expressions in that Letter to him; and said, He looked upon him as one of those, who had served him with most Fidelity, and therefore He might be confident of his Kindness; and that He would bring him to him with the first; though He said, He did not hold him to be infallible, as He might discern by what He had commanded *Dr. Sheldon*, who was then Clerk of his Closet, to write to him; and at the same Time the Doctor writ him Word, that the King was sorry that He, the Chancellor, staid at *Jersey*, and did not attend the Prince into *France*; and that if He had been there, He would have been able to have prevented the Vexation his Majesty had endured at *Newcastle*, by Messages from *Paris*.

THE Doctor likewise sent him Word, that great Pains had been taken from *Paris*, to incense the King against him; but that it had so little prevailed, that his Majesty had with some Sharpness reprehended those, who blamed him, and had justified the Chancellor. He made haste to answer his Majesty's Letter, and gave him so much Satisfaction, that his Majesty said, He was too hard for him. And about the same Time the Lord *Capel* came into *England*; and though He was under Security to the Parliament for behaving himself peaceably, He was not restrained from seeing the King; and so gave him a very particular Information of all that had passed at *Jersey*; and many other Things; of which his

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Majesty had never been informed before; which put it out of any Body's Power to make any ill Impressions in him towards the Chancellor.

UPON the King's refusing to give his Assent to the four Acts, sent to him from the Parliament, when He was in the Isle of *Wight*, They voted, *that no more Addresses should be made to the King*; and published a Declaration to that Effect, which contained severe Charges against his Majesty. *Vid. Hist. Reb. Fol. Vol. 3. P. 67, &c.*

The Chancellor of the Exchequer writes, and publishes an Answer to the Parliament's Declaration of the 15th of Feb. 1647.

THE Chancellor of the Exchequer no sooner received a Copy of it in *Jersey*, than He prepared a very large and full Answer to it; in which He made the Malice, and the Treason of that libellous Declaration to appear; and his Majesty's Innocence in all the Particulars charged upon him, with such pathetical Applications, and Insinuations, as were most like to work upon the Affections of the People: All which was transmitted (by the Care of Mr. Secretary *Nicholas*, who resided at *Caen* in *Normandy*, and held a constant Correspondence with the Chancellor) to a trusty Hand in *London*; who caused it to be well printed, and divulged, and found Means to send it to the King: Who, after He had⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ read it, said He durst swear it was writ by the Chancellor, if it were not that there was more Divinity in it, than He expected from him, which made him believe He had conferred with Dr. *Steward*. But some Months after, being informed by Secretary *Nicholas*, He sent the Chancellor Thanks for it; and expressed upon upon all Occasions, that He was much pleased with that Vindication.

THE Lord *Capel* had written to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who remained still in *Jersey*, signifying the King's Commands, that as soon as the Chancellor should be required to wait upon the

the Prince, He should without Delay obey the Summons. The King had writ to the Queen, that when it should be necessary for the Prince to remove out of *France*, the Chancellor should have Notice of it, and be required to attend him. About the Beginning of *April*, in the Year 1648, the Lord *Capel* writ again to the Chancellor, giving him Notice, that He would probably be sent for soon, and desired him to be ready. About the Middle of *May*, the Queen sent to the Chancellor of the Exchequer to *Jersey*, commanding, that He would wait upon the Prince at *Paris*, upon a Day that was past before the Letter came to his Hands; but as soon as He received the Summons, He immediately transported himself into *Normandy*, and went to *Caen*; from thence He hastened to *Rouen*, where He found the Lord *Cottington*, the Earl of *Bristol*, and Secretary *Nicholas*, who had received the same Commands. They were informed that the Prince was passed by towards *Calais*, and Direction was sent, that the Chancellor, and the rest should stay at *Rouen*, till They should receive new Orders from *Calais*. Within few Days They received Advice, that the Prince had put himself on board a Ship that He found at *Calais* bound for *Holland*, where They were to hear from him; whereupon They removed from *Rouen* to *Dieppe*; from whence They might embark for *Holland* when required. *Vid. Hist. Reb. Fol. Vol. 3. p. 102, &c.*

AFTER the Lord *Cottington*, the Earl of *Bristol*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer had staid at *Dieppe* some Days, and were confirmed by Reports every Day, that the Prince was in *Holland*; and that the Fleet wanted some Provisions, without which it could not put out to Sea; They resolved to make Use of the first Vessel, of which there were many

many then in the Harbour, that should be bound for *Holland*; and to transport themselves thither; and there was one which within two, or three Days would set out for *Flushing*. The Earl of *Bristol* had no Mind to venture himself in such a Vessel, and since the Fleet that had declared for the King was then in *Holland*, He apprehended that the Parliament might have other Vessels abroad, that might easily seize upon that small Bark; and so after some Debate with the Lord *Cottingham* (They two being seldom of one Mind) the Earl resolved to return to his old Habitation at *Caen*, and expect another Occasion.

THE Chancellor, who knew nothing of the Sea, nor understood the Hazards thereof (being always so afflicted upon that Element with Sicknes, that He considered nothing about it; and holding himself obliged to make what Haste He could to the Prince) committed himself entirely to the Lord *Cottingham*: And when They resolved to embark themselves in the Vessel bound for *Flushing*, a French Man of War, which was called the King's Ship, came into the Road of *Dieppe*, and offered to carry them the next Day to *Dunkirk*; which They took to be the safer Passage: And so giving the Captain⁽¹⁰³⁾ as much Money as He demanded; They put themselves upon his miserable Frigate; where They had no Accommodations, but the open Deck; and were safely set on Shore at *Dunkirk*; where Marshal *Rantzau* was then Governor. And They no sooner landed in the Evening, but *Carteret*, a Servant of the Prince's, came to them, and informed them, that the Prince was entered the River of *Thames* with the Fleet; and that He was sent by his Highness to the Marshal for a Frigate, which He had offered to lend the Prince: And that He had delivered the Letter, and the Marshal (who had been out all the Night before upon a Design upon the Enemy;

The Chancellor
of the Exchequer
embarks
for Dunkirk.

Enemy; and was newly arrived, and gone to Bed) had promised him that the Frigate should be ready the next Day. This seemed an extraordinary good Fortune to them, that They might now embark directly for the Fleet, without going into *Holland*, which They were willing to avoid; and so resolved to speak with the Marshal as soon as They could, that They might be confirmed by him, that his Frigate should be ready the next Day; and thereupon sent a Servant to wait at the Marshal's Lodging, that They might know when He waked, and was to be spoken with.

THE Marshal had Notice of their Arrival before the Servant came to him, and of their Desire to go to the Prince; and sent one of his Officers to welcome them to the Town, and to see them well accommodated with Lodging; and to excuse him, that He did not wait upon them that Night, by Reason of the Fatigue He had undergone the Night before, and that Day; and to oblige them to dine with him the next Day, against which Time the Vessel would be made ready to receive them, and transport them to the Prince's Fleet; with which They were abundantly satisfied; and betook themselves to their Rest for that Night: And were early up the next Morning to see the Marshal; but it was late before He rose.

He received them with great Civility, being a very proper Man, of a most extraordinary Presence, and Aspect, and might well be reckoned a very handsome Man, though He had but one Leg, one Hand, one Eye, and one Ear, the other being cut off with that Side of his Face; besides many other Cuts on the other Cheek, and upon his Head, with many Wounds in the Body; notwithstanding all which, He stood very upright, and had a very graceful Motion, a clear Voice, and a charming Delivery; and if He had not, according to the Custom

And from
absence for the
Prince's
Fleet.

Custom of his Nation (for He was a *German*) too much indulged to the Excess of Wine, He had been one of the most excellent Captains of that Age. He professed great Affection to the Prince, and much commended the Frigate He intended to send to him; which, for the Swiftneſs of it was called the *Hare*; and out ſailed, as He ſaid, all the Veſſels of that Coaſt; and after He had treated them with a very excellent, and a jovial Dinner, about Four of the Clock in the Afternoon, He brought them to their Boat, that put them on board their Frigate; which was but a ſmall Veſſel of twenty Guns, much inferior to what They expected, by the Deſcription the Maſhal had made of it. However, it was very proper for the Uſe They were to make of it, to be delivered at the Fleet; and ſo, the Moon ſhining very fair, They weighed Anchor about Sun ſet, with a very ſmall Gale of Wind.

THE Prince being Maſter at Sea, They had no manner of Apprehenſion of an Enemy; not knowing, or conſidering, that They were very near *Oſend*, and ſo, in Reſpect of the Veſſel They were in, liable to be made a Prize by thoſe Men of War; as it fell out: For about Break of Day, in a dead Calm,⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ They found themſelves purſued by fix, or ſeven Ships, which, as They drew nearer, were known by the Seamen to be the Frigates of *Oſend*. There was no Hope to Eſcape by the Swiftneſs of the Veſſel, for there was not the leaſt Breath of Wind; and it was to no Purpoſe to reſiſt; for beſides that the Veſſel was not half manned, four, or five of the Purſuers were ſtronger Ships; ſo that it was thought beſt to let the Sails fall, that They might ſee there was no Purpoſe of Reſiſtance; and to ſend *Carteret* in the Boat, to inform the Ships who the Perſons were, that were on Board, and that They had a Paſs from the Arch-Duke; for an authentick Copy of a Paſs the Arch-Duke had ſent to the Prince,

Prince, had been sent to them. All the Ships, though They had the King of *Spain's* Commission, were Freebooters, belonging to private Owners, who observed no Rules, or Laws of Nations; but They boarded the Vessel, with their Swords drawn, and Pistols cocked, and without any Distinction, plundered all the Passengers with equal Rudeness; save that They stripped some of the Servants to their very Shirts; They used not the rest with that Barbarity, being satisfied with taking all They had in their Pockets, and carefully examined all their *Valises*, and Trunks, in which They found good Booty.

THE Lord *Cottington* lost in Money, and Jewels, above one thousand Pounds; the Chancellor in Money about two hundred Pounds, and all his Cloaths and Linnen; and Sir *George Ratcliffe*, and Mr. *Wansford*, who were in the Company, above five hundred Pounds in Money, and Jewels. And having pillaged them in this Manner, They carried them all, with the Frigate They had been in, Prisoners to *Ostend*; where They arrived about Two of the Clock in the Afternoon; all the Men and Women of the Town being gathered together to behold the Prize that was brought in within so few Hours; for Intelligence had been sent from *Dunkirk*, the Night before (according to the Custom, and good Intelligence observed in those Places) of the going out of this Vessel, which had such Persons on Board. When They were on Shore, They were carried, through all the Spectators to a common Inn; from whence They sent to the Magistrates, to inform them of what Condition They were; and of the Injuries They had received, by having been treated as Enemies; and demanded Restitution of Ship, and Goods.

THE Magistrates, who were called the Lords of the Admiralty, came presently to them, and when

They were fully informed of the whole Matter, and had seen the Arch-Duke's Pass, They seemed very much troubled; and with much Civility assured them, that They should not only receive all that had been taken from them; but that the Men should be severely punished for their Transgression.

*He is set at
Liberty; and
promised Sa-
tisfaction.*

They immediately discharged those Guards that kept them as Prisoners; and provided the best Lodgings in the Town for them: And because it was growing towards the Evening, and the Frigates were not yet come in, They excused themselves that They could do no more that Night; but promised to go themselves on board the Ships the next Morning early; and desired that some of the Gentlemen of their Company might go with them, to the End that They might discover at least some of those, who had been most rude towards them; who should be sure to be imprisoned till full Satisfaction were made by the rest.

As soon as the Lords of the Admiralty were gone, the Governour, an old *Spaniard*, came to visit them with all Professions of Civility, and Service; and seemed to abhor the Barbarity with which They had been treated; asked very particularly of the⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ Manner of them, and of every Particular that had been taken from them; and told them, They should be sure to have it all returned; for that They did not trouble themselves in such Cases to find out the Seamen, who were the Plunderers, but resorted always to the Owners of the Ships, who lived in the Town, and were substantial Men, and bound to answer and satisfy for all Misdemeanours committed by the Company; and said, He would be with them the next Day, and take Care that all should be done that was just. These Professions and Assurances made them believe, that They should receive full Reparation for the Damages They had received; and the Lord *Cottingham* began to commend the

the good Order and Discipline that was observed under the *Spanish* Government, much different from that in other Places; and in how much better Condition They were, after such Usage, to be brought into *Ostend*, than if They had been so used by the *French*, and carried into any of their Ports.

THE next Morning two of the Lords of the Admiralty called upon them, in their Way to the Ships; retaining the same Professions They had made the Night before; and Sir *George Ratcliffe*, Mr. *Wansford*, and some of their Servants accompanied them according to their Desire; and as soon as They were on Board the Admiral's Vessel, that had brought them in, and had taken them out of their own, They knew some of those Seamen, who had been most busy about them; which were immediately seized on, and searched, and about some of them some Pieces of Chains of Gold, and other Things of Value belonging to the Lord *Cottington* were found; and some Mails, in which were Linen, and Cloaths, all which were presently restored and delivered to some of the Servants, who were present, and brought them to their Masters. The Chancellor was more solicitous for some Papers He had lost, than for his Money; and He was used to say, that He looked upon it as a singular Act of Providence, that those Officers prevailed with a Seaman, who had taken it out of his Pocket, to restore a little Letter which He had lately received from the King, whilst He was in the Hands of the Army; which for the Grace and Kindness contained in it, He did ever exceedingly value.

THOSE of the Admiralty, though They had not yet found out either any of the Jewels, or Money, of which They had been robbed, thought They had done enough for the Morning; and so returned to Dinner; declaring that They would

return in the Afternoon; and directed the Ships to be drawn nearer together, to the End They might visit them together; and They did return in the Afternoon, accompanied as before, but their Reception by the Seamen was not as in the Morning. The Captains answered those Questions which were asked of them negligently, and scornfully; and those Seamen who had been searched in the Morning, and were appointed to be produced in the Afternoon to be further examined, could not be found; and instead of bringing the Ships nearer together, some of them were gone more out to Sea; and the rest declared, that They would go all out to Sea that Night; and when the Magistrates seemed to threaten them, They swore They would throw both them, and all who came with them, over Board; and offered to lay Hands upon them in Order to it; so that They were all glad to get off; and returned to the Town, talking loud what Vengeance They would take upon the Captains and Seamen when They returned again into Port (for They already stood out to Sea in their Sight) and in the mean Time They would prosecute the Owners of the Vessels, who should satisfy for the Damage received; but from this Time, the Governour, nor the Lords⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ of the Admiralty cared to come near them: And They quickly found that the Reason of all the Governour's Civility the first Night, and the many Questions He had asked concerning all the Particulars They had lost of any Kind, was only to be the better informed, to demand his Share from the Seamen; and that the Lords of the Admiralty were the Owners of the several Vessels, or had Shares in them, and in the victualling, and so were to divide the Spoil, which They pretended should be restored. So that after They had remained there four, or five Days, They were contented

*But cannot
obtain it.*

tented to receive one hundred Pistoles for discharging the Debts They had contracted in the Town (for there was not any Money left amongst them) and to carry them to the Prince; which those of the Admiralty pretended to have received from some of the Owners, and to wait for farther Justice, when the Ships should return, which They doubted not should be effectually called for, by the Commands of the Arch-Duke, when He should be informed: and so They prosecuted their Journey to the Prince, making their Way by *Bruges*, and from thence by the Way of *Sluys to Flushing*; and those hundred Pistoles were the only Recompence that They ever received for that Affront, and Damage They had sustained; which in the whole amounted to two thousand Pounds at the least; though the King's Resident *De-Vic* at *Brussels* prosecuted the Pretence with the Arch-Duke, as long as there was any Hope.

THE Chancellor was often used to relate an Observation that was generally made, and discoursed at *Ostend*, at that Time, that never any Man who adventured in setting out those Frigates of Rapine, which are called Men of War, or in victualling, or bearing any Share in them, died rich, or possessed of any valuable Estate: and that as He walked one Morning about the Town, and upon the Quay, with an *English* Officer, who was a Lieutenant in that Garrison, They saw a poor old Man walk by them, whom the Lieutenant desired the Chancellor to observe; and when He was passed by, He told him, that He had known that Man the richest of any Man in the Town; that He had been the Owner of above ten Ships of War at one Time, without any Partner or Sharer with him; that He had had in his Warehouses in the Town, as much Goods, and Merchandise together, as amounted to the Value of

one hundred thousand Pounds, within seven Years before the Time He was then speaking; and after the Loss of two, or three Frigates, He insensibly decayed so fast, that having begun to build another Frigate, which He shewed him as They walked, and which lay then not half finished, He was not able to go through with it, and that He was at that Time so poor, that He had not wherewith to maintain him; but received the Charity of those who had known him in a plentiful Estate: And this Relation He made in Confirmation of that Discourse and Observation; and it made so deep an Impression upon the Chancellor, that afterwards, when the War was between *England*, and *Holland*, and *France*, and when many Gentlemen thought it good Husbandry to adventure in the setting out such Ships of War, He always dissuaded his Friends from that Traffick, relating to them this Story, of the Truth whereof He had such Evidence; and did in Truth, moreover in his own Judgment believe, that all Engagements of that Kind were contrary to the Rules of Justice, and a good Conscience.

He goes to
Flushing;

WHEN They came to *Flushing*, They thought it best to stay there, as the most likely Place to have Commerce with the Fleet; and They found there Colonel *William Vavasour*, who had by the Prince's Commission, drawn some Companies of Foot together, and expected some Vessel to be⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ sent from the Fleet, for their transportation; and *Carteret* was already dispatched, to inform the Prince of what had befallen the Treasurer, and Chancellor, and that They waited his Commands at *Flushing*: And because *Middleburgh* would be as convenient to receive Intelligence, and more convenient for their Accommodation, They removed thither, and took a private Lodging; where, by having a Cook, and other Servants, They might make

from thence to
Middle-
burgh.

make their own Provisions. They had been at *Middleburgh* very few Days, before the *Hind* Frigate was sent by the Prince to bring them to the Fleet; with Direction that They should make as much Haste as was possible; and They had no Occasion to delay, but the Wind was so directly against them for two, or three Days, that They could not put themselves on Board. It was now about the Middle of *July*, when the Wind appeared fair, and They presently embarked, and weighed Anchor, and sailed all the Night; but in the Morning the Wind changed, and blew so hard a Gale, that They were compelled to turn about, and came before Night again to *Flushing*; whence They endeavoured three Times more to get into the Downs; from whence They might easily have got to the Fleet; but as often as They put to Sea, so often They were driven back; and once with so violent a Storm, that their Ship was in Danger; and was driven in under the *Ramekins*, a Fort-near the Mouth of the River that goes to *Middleburgh*; whither They again repaired: And the Winds were so long contrary, that They received Order from the Prince to repair into *Holland*; for that his Highness resolved within very few Days, it being now towards the End of *August*, to carry the Fleet thither; as He shortly after did. And by this Means the Lord *Cottington*, and the Chancellor were not able to attend the Prince whilst He remained with the Fleet within the River of *Thames*; but were well informed, when They came to him, of all that had passed there.

THE Lord *Cottington*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as soon as They received Advertisement at *Middleburgh*, that the Prince resolved to return with the Fleet into *Holland*, made all the Haste They could to the *Hague*; it being then

Embarks to attend the Prince in the River of Thames, but is driven back.

Arrives at the Hague.

about the End of *August*, and came thither within one Day after the Prince's Arrival there.

THE next Morning after the Lord *Cottington*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer came to the *Hague*, the Prince appointed his Council to meet together, to receive, and deliberate upon a Message, the Lord *Lautherdale* had brought from the Parliament of *Scotland*; earnestly pressing him to repair forthwith to their Army; which was already entered into *England*, under the Command of the Duke of *Hamilton* --- The Chancellor reproves the Lord *Lautherdale* for his Insolent Behaviour before the Council. *Vid. Hist. of the Reb. Folio, Vol. 3. P. 129, 130, &c.*

THE Factions in the Prince's Family, and the great Animosity which Prince *Rupert* had against the Lord *Colepepper*, infinitely disturbed the Counsels; and perplexed the Lord *Cottington*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer --- *Colepepper* had Passions, and Infirmities which no Friends could restrain; and Prince *Rupert*, though very well inclined to the Chancellor, was absolutely governed by *Herbert* the Attorney General, who industriously cultivated his Prejudice to *Colepepper* --- *Hist. of the Reb. Folio, Vol. 3. P. 149, &c.*

WHILST the Prince was at the *Hague*, He received the shocking Account of the Murder of the King his Father; and soon after, the Queen wrote to him from *Paris*, advising him⁽¹¹⁰⁾ to repair into *France*, as soon as possible; and desiring him not to swear any Persons to be of his Council, till She could speak with him: But before he received her Letter, He had already caused those of his Father's Council, who had attended him, to be sworn of his Privy Council; adding

adding only Mr. *Long* his Secretary. He had no Mind to go into *France*; and it was evident that He could not be long able to reside at the *Hague*; an Agent from the Parliament being there at that Time; so that it was Time to think of some other Retreat. *Ireland* was then thought most adviseable; some favourable Accounts having been received from thence, of the Transactions of the Marquis of *Ormond*, and Lord *Inchiquin*; and of the Arrival of Prince *Rupert* at *Kinsale* with the Fleet. *Hist. of the Reb.* Folio, Vol. 3. P. 216.

THE Chancellor of the Exchequer was sent to confer with the Marquis of *Montrose* in a Village near the *Hague*, upon the State of Affairs in *Scotland*. The Marquis came now into *Holland* to offer his Service to his Majesty; expecting that He would presently send him to *Scotland* with some Forces, to prepare the Way for his Majesty to follow after. *Hist. of the Reb.* Folio, Vol. 3. P. 223, &c.

THE King declared his Resolution of going into *Ireland*, and Preparations were made for that Expedition; which however, from Accidents that afterwards fell out, did not take Effect. The Lord *Cottington*, wishing to avoid the Fatigue of such Expeditions, took that Occasion to confer with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, upon the Expediency of the King's sending an Embassy into *Spain*; and proposed, that himself and the Chancellor should be appointed Ambassadors to that Court, to which the Chancellor consented; and upon the Lord *Cottington's* Representation of the Matter to the King, his Majesty soon after publickly declared his Resolution to send those Two, Ambassadors Extraordinary into *Spain*. *Hist. of the Reb.* Folio, Vol. 3. P. 234, &c.

THIS

*The Murmurs
of the Court
on his being
appointed
Ambassador
to Spain.*

THIS was no sooner known, but all kind of People, who agreed in nothing else, murmured, and complained of this Counsel; and the more, because it had never been mentioned, or debated in Council. Only the *Scots* were very glad of it (*Montrose* excepted) believing that when the Chancellor was gone, their beloved *Covenant* would not be so irreverently mentioned; and that the King would be wrought upon to withdraw all Countenance and Favour from the Marquis of *Montrose*; and the Marquis himself looked upon it as a deserting him, and complying with the other Party; and from that Time, though They lived with Civility towards each other, He withdrew very much of his Confidence, which He had formerly reposed in him. They who loved him were sorry for him, and themselves; They thought He deserted a Path He had long trod, and was well acquainted with; and was henceforward to move *extra Sphæram Activitatis*, in an Office He had not been acquainted with; and then They should want his Credit to support, and confirm them in the King's Favour and Grace: And there were many who were very sorry when They heard it, out of particular Duty to the King; who being young, They thought might be without that Counsel, and Advertisement, which They knew well He would still administer to him.

No Man was more angry, and offended with the Counsel than the Lord *Colepepper*; who would have been glad to have gone himself in the Employment, if He could have persuaded the Lord *Cottington* to have accepted his Company; which⁽¹¹¹⁾ He would by no Means do; and though He and the Chancellor were not thought to have the greatest Kindness for each other, yet He knew He could agree with no other Man so well in Business; and was very unwilling He should be from the Person

Person of the King. But the Chancellor himself, His own Content in that Office. from the Time that the King had signified his own Pleasure to him, was exceedingly pleased with the Commission; and did believe that He should in some Degree improve his Understanding, and very much refresh his Spirits, by what He should learn by the one, and by his Absence from being continually conversant with those Wants, which could never be severed from that Court, and that Company which would be always corrupted by those Wants. And so He sent for his Wife, and Children, to meet him at *Antwerp*, where He intended They should reside whilst He continued in *Spain*, and where They were like to find some Civilities in respect of his Employment.

THE Ambassadors took Leave of the King before the Middle of *May*, and went to *Antwerp*, where the Chancellor's Wife, and Family were arrived, who were to remain there during his Embassy --- After staying two, or three Days at *Antwerp*, They went to *Brussels*, to deliver their Credentials to the Arch-Duke, and to the Duke of *Lorrain*, and to visit the *Spanish* Ministers there, &c. *Hist. of the Reb.* Folio, Vol. 3. P. 240.

WHEN the Ambassadors had dispatched all their Business at *Brussels*, They returned to *Antwerp*, to negotiate the Remittance of their Money to *Madrid*. *Hist. of the Reb.* Folio, Vol. 3. P. 242.

THE Queen is much displeased, that the King had taken any Resolutions, before She was consulted, and imputed all that had been done principally to the Chancellor of the Exchequer; suspecting He meant to exclude her from meddling in the Affairs. *Hist. of the Reb.* Folio, Vol. 3. P. 242.

LORD

LORD Cottington, and the Chancellor, hearing that the King was on his Way to *France*, resolve to defer going to *St. Germain's*, till the King's first Interview with the Queen should be over.

ABOUT a Week after the King left *Brussels*, the two Ambassadors prosecuted their Journey to *Paris*; staid only one Day there; and then went to *St. Germain's*; where the King, and the Queen his Mother, with both their Families, and the Duke of *York* then were --- They found that Court full of Jealousy, and Disorder --- The Queen much troubled at the King's Behaviour to her, as if He had no Mind that She should interfere in his Affairs --- She now attributes this Reservedness of the King towards her, more to the Influence of some Body else, than to the Chancellor of the Exchequer --- He had a private Audience of the Queen --- She complained of the King's Unkindness to her; and of the great Credit Mr. *Elliot* (one of his Majesty's Grooms of the Bedchamber) had with the King. *Hist. of the Reb.* Vol. 3. Folio. P. 243, &c.

ABOUT the Middle of *September*, the King left *St. Germain's*, and began his Journey towards *Jersey*, and the Queen removed to *Paris* --- The two Ambassadors attended her Majesty thither, and prepared for their Journey into *Spain*. *Hist. of the Reb.* Folio, Vol. 3. P. 252.

*The Queen is
displeased at
his going to
Spain.*

DURING the Time of their short Stay at *Paris*, the Queen used the Chancellor very graciously; but still expressed Trouble that He was sent on that Embassy, which She said, would be fruitless, as to any Advantage the King would receive from it; and She said, She must confess, that though She was

(112) was not confident of his Affection and Kindness towards her, yet She believed that He did wish that the King's Carriage towards her, should be always fair and respectful; and that She did desire that He might be always about his Majesty's Person; not only because She thought He understood the Business of *England* better than any Body else; but because She knew that He loved the King, and would always give him good Counsel, towards his living virtuously; and that She thought He had more Credit with him, than any other, who would deal plainly and honestly with him.

THERE was a Passage at that Time, of which He used to speak often, and looked upon as a great Honour to him: The Queen one Day amongst some of her Ladies, in whom She had most Confidence, expressed some Sharpness towards a Lord of the King's Council, whom She named not, who She said, always gave her the fairest Words, and promised her every Thing She desired; and had persuaded her to affect somewhat that She had before no Mind to; and yet She was well assured, that when the same was proposed to the King on her Behalf, He was the only Man who dissuaded the King from granting it. Some of the Ladies seemed to have the Curiosity to know who it was; which the Queen would not tell; one of them who was known to have a Friendship for him, said, She hoped it was not the Chancellor; to which her Majesty replied with some Quickness, that She might be sure it was not He, who was so far from making Promises, or giving fair Words, and flattering her, that She did verily believe, that if He *thought her to be a Whore, He would tell her of it;* which when that Lady told him, He was not displeased with the Testimony.

*The Queen's
Opinion of his
Sincerity.*

THE

THE two Ambassadors began their Journey from *Paris*, on *Michaelmas* Day; and continued it without one Day's Rest to *Bordeaux* --- *Hist. of the Reb. Folio*, Vol. 3. P. 253.

THEY continued their Journey to *Bayonne*; and from thence to *St. Sebastian's*; where They were told by the Corregidor, that He had received Directions from the Secretary of State, to persuade them to remain there till the King's farther Pleasure might be known; and They received a Packet from Sir *Benjamin Wright* at *Madrid*, inclosing a Pass for them, under the Title of Ambassadors from the *Prince of Wales*. They immediately sent an Express to the Court, complaining of their Treatment, and desiring to know, whether their Persons were unacceptable to his Catholick Majesty; and if otherwise, They desired They might be treated in the Manner due to the Honour, and Dignity of the King their Master. They received an Answer full of Civility, imputing the Error in the Style of their Pass, to the Negligence, or Ignorance of the Secretary; and new Passes were sent to them in the proper Style; with Assurance, that They should find a very good Welcome from his Majesty --- They left *St. Sebastian's* about the Middle of *November* --- *Hist. of the Reb. Folio*, Vol. 3. P. 254, 255.

WHEN They came to *Alcavendas*, within three Leagues of *Madrid*, Sir *Benjamin Wright* came to them, and informed them, that all Things were in the State they were, when He writ to them at *St. Sebastian's*; that no House was yet prepared for their Reception; and that there was an evident Want of Attention for them in the Court; the *Spanish* Ambassador in *England* having done them ill Offices, lest their good Reception in *Spain* might incense the Parliament --- After a Week's Stay in that little Town, They accepted of

(113) of Sir *Benjamin Wright's* Invitation to his House at *Madrid*; They went privately thither, to reside *incognito* --- The Court knew of their Arrival, but took no Notice of it --- Lord *Cottington* desired, and obtained a private Audience of Don *Lewis de Haro* --- Don *Lewis* excused the Omission towards the Ambassadors, on Pretence that the *Fiestas* for their new Queen's Arrival, had engrossed the whole Attention of all the Officers about the Court; and promised immediate Reparation --- Lord *Cottington* returned Home well satisfied --- The Ambassadors are invited to see the Exercises of the *Fiestas*; and the Chancellor accordingly went to the Place assigned. *Hist. of the Reb. Folio, Vol. 3. P. 256, 257.*

THE Masquerade is an Exercise They learned from the Moors; performed by Squadrons of Horse, seeming to charge each other with great Fierceness; with Bucklers in their left Hands, and a Kind of Cane in their right; which, when They come within little more than a Horse's Length, They throw with all the Strength They can; and against them They defend themselves with very broad Bucklers; and as soon as They have thrown their Darts, They wheel about in a full Gallop, till They can turn to receive the like Assault from those whom They had charged; and so several Squadrons of twenty, or five and twenty Horse, run round, and charge each other. It hath at first the Appearance of a martial Exercise; the Horses are very beautiful, and well adorned; the Men richly clad, and must be good Horsemen, otherwise They could not conduct the quick Motions and Turns of their Horses; all the rest is too childish; the Darts being nothing else but plain Bulrushes of the biggest Growth. After this, They run the Course; which is like our running at the Ring; save that two run still together, and the swifter

swifter hath the Prize; a Post dividing them at the End: From the Start They run their Horses full speed about fifty Paces, and the Judges are at that Post to determine who is first at the End.

Description of
the Toros.

THE next Day, and so for two, or three Days together, both the Ambassadors had a Box prepared for them, to see the *Toros*; which is a Spectacle very wonderful. Here the Place was very noble, being the Market-Place, a very large Square, built with handsome Brick Houses, which had all Balconies, which were adorned with Tapestry, and very beautiful Ladies. Scaffolds were built round to the first Story; the lower Rooms being Shops, and for ordinary Use; and in the Division of those Scaffolds, all the Magistrates, and Officers of the Town knew their Places. The Pavement of the Place was all covered with Gravel, which in Summer Time was upon those Occasions watered by Carts charged with Hogsheads of Water. As soon as the King comes, some Officers clear the whole Ground from the common People; so that there is no Man seen upon the Plain, but two, or three *Alguazills*, Magistrates with their small white Wands. Then one of the four Gates which lead into the Streets is opened; at which the *Torreadors* enter, all Persons of Quality richly clad, and upon the best Horses in *Spain*, every one attended by eight, or ten, or more Lackeys, all clinquant with Gold, and Silver Lace; who carry the Spears, which their Masters are to use against the Bulls; and with this Entry many of the common People break in, for which sometimes They pay very dear. The Persons on Horseback have all Cloaks folded up upon their left Shoulder; the least Disorder of which, much more the letting it fall, is a very great Disgrace; and in that grave Order, They march to the Place where the King sits, and after They have made the Reverences, They

They place themselves at a good Distance from one another, and expect the Bull.

(114) THE Bulls are brought in the Night before from the Mountains, by People used to that Work ; who drive them into the Town when no Body is in the Streets, into a Pen made for them, which hath a Door that opens into that large Space ; the Key whereof is sent to the King, which the King, when He sees every Thing ready, throws to an *Alguazill*, who carries it to the Officer that keeps the Door ; and He causes it to be opened when a single Bull is ready to come out. When the Bull enters, the common People who sit over the Door, or near it, strike him, or throw short Darts with sharp Points of Steel to provoke him to Rage : He commonly runs with all his Fury against the first Man he sees on Horseback ; who watches him so carefully, and avoids him so dexterously, that when the Spectators believe him to be even between the Horns of the Bull, He avoids him by the quick Turn of his Horse ; and with his Lance strikes the Bull upon a Vein that runs through his Pole, with which in a Moment he falls down dead. But this fatal Stroke can never be struck, but when the Bull comes so near upon the Turn of the Horse, that his Horn even touches the Rider's Leg ; and so is at such a Distance, that He can shorten his Lance, and use the full Strength of his Arm in the Blow ; and They who are the most skilful in the Exercise, do frequently kill the Beast with such an exact Stroke : infomuch as in a Day, two, or three fall in that Manner : But if They miss the Vein, it only gives a Wound that the more enrages him.

SOMETIMES the Bull runs with so much Fierceness (for if he escapes the first Man, he runs upon the rest as They are in his Way) that He gores the Horse with his Horns, so that his Guts come out, and He falls, before the Rider can get from his

* P

Back.

Back. Sometimes, by the Strength of his Neck, he raises Horse and Man from the Ground, and throws both down; and then the greatest Danger is another Gore upon the Ground. In any of these Disgraces, or any other, by which the Rider comes to be dismounted, He is obliged in Honour to take his Revenge upon the Bull by his Sword, and upon his Head; towards which the Standers by assist him, by running after the Bull, and hocking him, by which He falls upon his hinder Legs, but before that Execution can be done, a good Bull hath his Revenge upon many poor Fellows. Sometimes he is so unruly that no Body dares to attack him; and then the King calls for the Mastiffs, whereof two are let out at a Time, and if they cannot master him, but are themselves killed, as frequently they are, the King then, as the last Refuge, calls for the *Englisk* Mastiffs, of which They seldom turn out above one at a Time, and he rarely misses taking the Bull, and holding him by the Nose, till the Men run in; and after They have hocked him, They quickly kill him.

In one of those Days there were no fewer than sixteen Horses, as good as any in *Spain*, the worst of which would that very Morning have yielded three hundred Pistoles, killed, and four, or five Men; besides many more of both hurt, and some Men remained perpetually maimed: for after the Horsemen have done as much as They can, They withdraw themselves, and then some accustomed nimble Fellows to whom Money is thrown, when They perform their Feats with Skill, stand to receive the Bulls, whereof the worst are reserved till the last; and it is a wonderful Thing to see with what Steadiness those Fellows will stand a full Career of the Bull, and by a little quick Motion upon one Foot, avoid him, and lay a Hand upon his Horn, as if They guided him from them; but then the

the next Standers by, who have not the same Activity, commonly pay for it; and there is no Day without much Mischief. It is a very barbarous Exercise, and Triumph; in which so many Mens Lives are lost, and always ventured; but so rooted in the Affections of that Nation, that it is not in the King's Power, They say, to suppress it; though if He disliked it enough, He might forbear to be present at it.

THERE are three Festivals in the Year, whereof *Midsummer* is one, on which the People hold it to be their Right to be treated with these Spectacles; not only in great Cities, where They are never disappointed, but in very ordinary Towns, where there are Places provided for it. Besides those ordinary annual Days, upon any extraordinary Accidents of Joy, as at this Time for the Arrivall of the Queen, upon the Birth of the King's Children, or any signal Victory, these Triumphs are repeated; which no Ecclesiastical Censures, or Authority can suppress, or discountenance; for Pope *Pius* the V, in the Time of *Philip* the II, and very probably with his Approbation, if not upon his Desire, published a Bull against the *Toros* in *Spain*, which is still in force; in which He declared, that no Body should be capable of *Christian* Burial, who lost his Life at those Spectacles; and that every Clergyman who should be present at them, stood excommunicated *ipso facto*; and yet there is always one of the largest Galleries assigned to the Office of the Inquisition, and the Chief of the Clergy, which is always filled; besides that many religious Men in their Habits get other Places; only the *Jesuits* out of their Submission to the supreme Authority of the Pope, are never present there; but on those Days, do always appoint some such solemn Exercise to be performed, that obliges their whole Body to be together.

Is visited by
the other Am-
bassadors at
Madrid, be-
fore his Au-
dience.

THOUGH it is not the Course for the Ambassadors to make their Visits to those who come last, before They receive their first Audience from the King; yet the very Night They came to the Town, the *Venetian* Ambassador sent to congratulate their Arrival, and to know what Hour They would assign of the next Day to receive a Visit from him: To which They returned their Acknowledgements; and that when They had obtained their Audience of the King, They would be ready to receive that Honour from him. However, the very next Day He came to visit them; and He was no sooner gone, but the *German* Ambassador, not sending Notice till He was at the Bottom of the Stairs, likewise came to them; and then the other Ambassadors, and public Ministers took their Times to make their Visits, without attending the Audience.

Some Account
of the Ambas-
sadors then at
Madrid.

Of Julio Ros-
pigliosi.

Of the Mar-
quis of Grana.

THERE was one Thing very notable, that all the foreign Ministers residing then in *Madrid* (the *English* Ambassadors, and the Resident of *Denmark* only excepted) were *Italians*; and all, but the *Venetian*, Subjects of the Great Duke. *Julio Rospigliosi* Nuntio for the Pope, was of *Pistoja*, and so a Subject to the Duke of *Florence*; a grave Man, and at that Time, save that his Health was not good, like to come to be, what He was afterwards, Pope, as He was *Clement* the IX. The Emperor's Ambassador, the Marquis of *Grana* was likewise an *Italian*, and a Subject of *Florence*; He had been General of one of the Emperor's Armies, and was sent afterwards Ambassador to *Madrid*; He was a Man of great Parts; and the removing the Conde-Duke *Olivarez* from Court, was imputed to his Artifice. He made the Match between the King, and the present Queen, for which He expected to have the Cap of a Cardinal; and had received it, if He had not died before the following Creation; the Cardinal of *Hesse* being nominated by the Emperor upon his

his Death. He was a Man of an imperious, and
(116) insolent Nature, and capable of any Temptation,
and no Body was more glad of his Death than his
own Servants, over whom He was a great Tyrant.

THE Ambassador of *Venice*, *Pietro Basadonna*, ^{a Of the Venetian Ambassador.} was a Man, as all that Nation is, of great Civility, and much Profession; He was the first who told the Ambassadors, that the King their Master had a Resident at *Venice*; which was Mr. *Killigrew*, which They did not at first believe, having before They left *St. Germain*, dissuaded the King from that Purpose; but afterwards his Majesty was prevailed upon, only to gratify him, that in that Capacity, He might borrow Money of *English* Merchants for his own Subsistence; which He did, and nothing to the Honour of his Master; but was at last compelled to leave the Republick, for his vicious Behaviour; of which the *Venetian* Ambassador complained to the King, when He came afterwards to *Paris*.

THE Ambassador of the King of *Poland*, was like-^{Of the Polish Ambassador.} wise a *Florentine*; who was much in Favour with the King *Uladislaus*, from whom He was sent; and continued by King *Casimir*. He had lived in great Splendour; but by his vicious Course of Life, and some Miscarriages, He fell very low, and was revoked with some Circumstances of Dishonour. He was a Man of a great Wit; if it had not served him to very ill Purposes. The Ambassador of *Florence*, was ^{Of the Ambassador of Florence.} a Subject of his Master, and an Abbot, a grave Man; and though He was frequently called Ambassador, He was in Truth but Resident; which was discovered by a Contest He had with the *Denmark* Resident for Place; who alledged, that the other was no more than Resident; which was true, and made the Discovery that the *Florentines* send no Ambassadors to *Madrid*, because They are not suffered to cover, which They use to do in many other

Of the Arch-Duke of In-spruck's Minister.

Courts. The Arch-Duke of *Inspruck's* Minister was likewise a *Florentine*, and had been bred in *Spain*, and was a Knight of the Order; and supported that Character upon a small Assignment from his Master, for some Benefit and Advantage it gave him in Negotiations, and Pretences He had in that Court.

Of the Resident of Denmark.

THE Resident of *Denmark* was Don *Henrique Williamson* (He was afterwards called *Rosewell*) who came Secretary to *Hannibal Zested*; who had been the Year before Ambassador in that Court, and lived in extraordinary Splendour, as all the Northern Ministers do; who have not their Allowance from the King, but from a Revenue that is purposely set aside for that Kind of Service. When He went away, He left this Gentleman to remain there as Resident. He was a grave, and a sober Man, wiser than most of his Nation; and lived with much more Plenty, and with a better Retinue than any other Minister of that Rank in that Court.

THEY had not been many Days in *Madrid*, when Don *Lewis* sent them the News of the Imprisonment of the Prince of *Condé*, Prince of *Conti*, and the Duke of *Longueville*; and that Marshal *Turenne* was fled into *Flanders*; so much the Cardinal had improved his Condition from the Time that They had left *Paris*. There was yet no House provided for them, which They took very heavily; and believed that it might advance that Business, if They had once a publick Reception as Ambassadors; and therefore They resolved to demand an Audience. Don *Lewis* came to be advertised, that the Ambassadors had prepared Mourning for themselves, and all their Train, against their Audience, which was true; for They thought it the most proper Dress to appear in, and to demand Assistance to revenge the Murder of their Master, it being yet within the Year: But Don *Lewis* sent to them, that He hoped that when the whole Court was in *Gala*, upon the Joy

Joy of the Marriage of the King, and to give the
 (117) Queen a cheerful Reception; They would not dishonour the Festival by appearing *in Lute*, which the King could not but take unkindly; which He said, He thought fit to advertise them of, out of Friendship, and without any Authority. Whereupon, as well to comply in an Affair which seemed to have somewhat of Reason in it, as out of Apprehension, that from hence They might take Occasion to defer their Audience, They changed their Purpose, and caused new Cloaths to be made; and then sent to demand their Audience.

Lord Cottington, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer demand their Audience.

*Montpelier, 1st of
 March, 1670.*



The Life of

HOWARD PAUL OF CHATHAM

from his birth to the Restoration of the
Royal Family in 1660

CHAPTER XXIII

The Ambassadors were conducted to
the Court to the presence of the King of
France; and having made the usual
and formal bows, and after a short
conference with the King, they were
conducted to the King's Chamber.
They perceived that their mode of
addressing a first meeting with the new
Commonwealth of England, was with the King
their Master, from an Opinion of his Goodness
being irreversible. After all Ceremonies were
over, the Ambassadors had a private Audience of
the King, to whom they delivered a Memorial
containing their Propositions and Requests.
They received shortly after such an Answer as
was sufficient enough to show how much they
were to expect from any renewed Friendship of
that Crown. They retired for some Time with-
out giving the Court any further Trouble. When
of the English, Policy, &c. P. 100. 255. and
moved themselves in no important Business from
thence, if they could have but all the thought

The LIFE of
EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON
From his Birth to the Restoration of the
ROYAL FAMILY in 1660.

PART the SIXTH.

(118) **T**HE Ambassadors were conducted in Form to their Audience of the King of *Spain*; and afterwards of the Queen, and Infanta; and at last a House was provided for them. *Hist. of the Reb.* Folio, Vol. 3. P. 259.

THEY perceived that Court was more inclined to cultivate a strict Friendship with the new Commonwealth of *England*, than with the King their Master, from an Opinion of his Condition being irrecoverable --- After all Ceremonies were over, the Ambassadors had a private Audience of the King, to whom They delivered a Memorial containing their Propositions, and Demands --- They received shortly after such an Answer, as was Evidence enough to them, how little They were to expect from any avowed Friendship of that Crown --- They rested for some Time without giving the Court any farther Trouble (*History of the Rebellion*, Folio, Vol. 3. P. 261, 262.) and enjoyed themselves in no unpleasant Retreat from Business, if They could have put off the Thought
of

The Chan-
cellor of the
Exchequer
applies him-
self to the
learning
Spanish.

of the miserable Condition of their Master; and their own particular Concernments in their own Country. The Chancellor betook himself to the learning their Language, by reading their Books; of which He made a good Collection; and informing himself the best He could, of their Government, and the Administration of their Justice: And there began his Devotions upon the Psalms, which He finished in another Banishment.

PRINCE *Rupert* came upon the Coast of *Spain* with the Fleet under his Command; and wrote to the Chancellor, acquainting him, that He had brought away all the Fleet from *Ireland*; and desiring him to procure Orders from the Court, that He might find a good Reception in all the *Spanish* Ports, if his Occasions brought him thither --- The News of a Fleet of the King of *England* being on their Coast, at a Time when their *Galleons* were expected Home, occasioned great Alteration in the Behaviour of that Court; and all that the Ambassadors asked, was easily granted; but that seeming favourable Disposition was of short Duration; for on the Arrival afterwards of a strong Fleet sent out by the Parliament, and the Commander thereof writing an insolent Letter to the King of *Spain*, the Ambassadors found⁽¹¹⁹⁾ themselves less regarded --- *Hist. of the Reb.* Folio, Vol. 3. P. 262, 263.

THE King had now determined to go into *Scotland*, upon the Invitation of the Council, and Parliament of that Kingdom; and the Ambassadors, who in Reality disapproved of that Measure, notified it to the Court of *Spain*, as a happy Turn in the King's Affairs; setting forth, that his Majesty was now Master of that Kingdom; and therefore might reasonably hope to be restored to the Possession of the rest of his Dominions --- The

— The Court of *Spain* then began again to treat the Ambassadors with more Regard — *Hist. of the Reb. Folio, Vol. 3. P. 269.*

UPON the News of *Cromwell's* Victory over the Marquis of *Argyle's* Army in *Scotland*, the Ambassadors received a Message from the King of *Spain*, desiring them to depart, since their Presence in the Court would be prejudicial to his Affairs --- They imagined this proceeded from the Expectation of the Arrival of an Ambassador from the Commonwealth of *England*, which was then reported; but They knew afterwards that the true Cause of this Impatience to get rid of them, was, that their Minister in *England*, having purchased many of the King's Pictures, and rich Furniture, had sent them to the *Groyne*; from whence They were expected to arrive about that Time, at *Madrid*: which They thought could not decently be brought to the Palace, while the Ambassadors remained at the Court. --- *Hist. of the Reb. Folio, Vol. 3. P. 295.*

LORD *Cottington* resolves, and obtains Leave to stay as a private Man in *Spain*; but is not permitted to reside at *Madrid*. *Hist. of the Reb. Folio, Vol. 3. P. 297.*

THE other Ambassador made his Journey by *Alcala*; and staid a Day there, to see that University; where the College, and other Buildings made by the Cardinal *Ximenes*, are well worth the seeing; and went through the Kingdom of *Navarre* to *Pampeluna*, where the Vice-King, the Duke of *Escalona* received him; and lodged him two Days in the Palace; and treated him with great Civility. There He was seized upon with the Gout; yet He continued his Journey by Mules, there being no Passage by Coach, or Litter, over the *Pirenees*, to *Bayonne*; where He was forced to keep his Bed, and to bleed,
for

The Chancellor of the Exchequer begins his Journey from Madrid.

And arrives
at Paris.

For many Days: but was so impatient of Delay, that after a Week's Rest, and before He was fit for the Journey, He put himself into a Litter, and reached *Bordeaux*; where He was forced to follow the Prescription of Dr. *Lopez*, a very learned Jew, and Physician; and yet went too soon from thence too; so that when He came to *Paris*, He was cast into his Bed by a new Defluxion of the Gout, more violent than ever.

The Queen's
Complaints to
him of the
Duke of
York.

As soon as He had recovered any Strength, He waited upon the Queen Mother, who received him very graciously; complained very much to him of the Duke of *York*; who having been left with her by the King when He parted with her Majesty at *Beauvais*, had expressly against her Consent, and Command, transported himself to *Brussels*, upon Imaginations, which had no Foundation; and upon some Treaty with the Duke of *Lorraine*, which She was sure could produce no good Effect. Her Majesty seemed most offended with Sir *Edward Herbert* the Attorney General, and Sir *George Ratcliffe*, as the two Persons who prevailed with the Duke, and had engaged him in that Journey, and governed him in it, against the Advice of the Lord *Byron*, who was his Governor; and that being disappointed of what They had unreasonably looked for at ⁽¹²⁰⁾ *Brussels*, They had carried his Royal Highness into *Holland*, to his Sister; who suffered much by his Presence; the States of *Holland* being resolved not to suffer him to reside within their Province; the Prince of *Orange* being lately dead of the Small Pox, and his Son, who was born after his Death, being an Infant, and depending so intirely upon the good Will of the States; and therefore the Princess Royal was much troubled that the coming of the Duke her Brother into those Parts, gave the States any Occasion of Offence. The Queen said, that She had writ to the Duke to return into *France*; but

but had received no Answer; and therefore She desired the Ambassador, as soon as He should come into those Parts (for He meant to go to *Antwerp*, where his Wife and Children then were) that He would make a Journey to the *Hague*, to reduce the Duke, and to prevail with him to return into *France*; which the Ambassador could not refuse to promise.

He found there the Queen's own Family in some Disorder, upon some Declaration She had made, that the Protestant Chaplain should be no more permitted to perform his Function in the *Louvre*; where the Queen's Court resided, and where there was a lower Room which had been always used as a Chapel, from the Time of the Prince's first coming thither, to that Time; and where twice a Day, the Common Prayer was read to those who were Protestants, in both Families; and now the Queen had signified to Dr. *Cosins* (who was the Chaplain assigned by the late King, to attend in her Majesty's Family, for the Protestant Part of it) that He should be no more permitted to have the Use of that Room.

Dr. Cosins forbid to officiate to the Protestants in the Queen's Family.

THE Chancellor of the Exchequer took this Occasion to speak with the Queen; and put her in Mind of some Promise She had made him, when He took his Leave of her to go for *Spain*, that She would not withdraw her Stipend, which She allowed to Dr. *Cosins*; whereby He must be compelled to withdraw; and so the Protestant Part of her Family would be deprived of their publick Devotions; which Promise She had observed to that Time: But if now the Room should be taken from that Use, it would be the same Thing, as if the Chaplain was turned away. He put her Majesty in Mind of the ill Impression it might make in the Hearts of the Protestants in *England*, who retained their Respects, and Duty for her Majesty; and of what pernicious

Conse-

The Chancellor speaks to the Queen on that Subject.

*The Queen's
Answer.*

Consequence it might prove to the King, who was still in *Scotland*, in a hopeful Condition; and depended most upon the Affections of his Protestant Subjects of *England*; and in the last Place, whether it might not prove a better Argument to those, who were suspected by her to mislead the Duke of *York*, to dissuade him from returning to her, since She would not permit him to have the Exercise of his Religion. The Queen seemed to think that what He said, was not without Reason, and confessed that She was not the Author of this new Resolution, which She did not believe to be seasonable.

Mr. *Walter Montague*, who had some Years ago changed his Religion, and was become Catholick, after He had sustained a long Imprisonment in the *Tower of London*, procured his Release from thence, upon Assurance that He would no more return into *England*; and so came into *France*, where He was very well known in the *French*, as well, as the *English* Court, and in great Reputation, and Esteem with both Queens. He appeared a Man wholly restrained from all the Vanity, and Levity of his former Life; and perfectly mortified to the Pleasures of the World, which He had enjoyed in a very great Measure, and Excess.

He dedicated himself to his Studies with great ⁽¹²¹⁾ Austerity; and seemed to have no Affection, or Ambition for Preferment; but to live within himself upon the very moderate Exhibition He had left to him by his Father; and in this melancholick Retreat He had newly taken the Order of Priesthood; which was in Truth, the most reasonable Way to satisfy his Ambition, if He had any left; for both the Queen Regent, and the Cardinal, could not but liberally provide for his Support, in that Profession; which They did very shortly after: and this devout Profession, and new Function much improved the Interest,

Interest, and Credit He always had in his old Mistress; who very much hearkened to him in Cases of Conscience: and She confessed to the Chancellor, that He was a little too bigotted in this Affair; and had not only pressed her very passionately to remove the Scandal of having a Protestant Chapel in her House, as inconsistent with a good Conscience; but had likewise inflamed the Queen Regent with the same Zeal; who had very earnestly pressed and importuned her Majesty no longer to permit that Offence to be given to the Catholick Religion. And upon this Occasion She lamented the Death of her late Confessor, Father *Philips*, who, She said, was a very discreet Man, and would never suffer her to be troubled with such Infusions, and Scruples. In Conclusion, She wished him to confer with Mr. *Montague*, and to try if He could withdraw him from that Asperity in that Particular; to which Purpose, the Chancellor conferred with him, but without any Effect.

He said, the House was the King of *France's*; The Chancellor confers with Mr. Montague thereon, but without Effect. who only permitted the Queen to live there; and that the Queen Regent thought herself bound in Conscience no longer to suffer that Reproach, of which She had never had Information till very lately: That if the Duke of *York* came thither, there was no Thought, or Purpose to deny him the Exercise of his Religion; He might have his Chaplain say Prayers to him in his own Chamber; or in some Room adjacent, which served likewise to all other Purposes; but that the setting a Room apart, as this was, for that Service, was upon the Matter dedicating it as a Chapel, for the Exercise of a Religion, contrary to what was established in that Kingdom; which the King of *France* would not suffer to be done in a House of his, though the King should return thither again. He undervalued all the Considerations which were offered of *England*, or of a Protestant

Protestant Interest; as if He thought them all, as no Doubt He did, of no Importance to the King's Restoration, which could never be effected but by that Interest, which was quite opposite to it. When He gave the Queen an Account of this Discourse, He prevailed so far with her, that She promised, in Case She should be compelled to take away that Room, as She foresaw She should be, the Family should be permitted to meet in some other Room; and if the Duke of York came, the Place that should be appointed for his Devotions, should serve for all the Rest to resort to.

The Chancellor
goes to Brus-
sels.

As soon as the Chancellor had recovered his Strength, He took Leave of the Queen, and pursued his Journey for *Flanders*. At *Brussels* He staid till He had an Audience of the Arch-Duke, to whom He had Letters from the King of *Spain*, and Don *Lewis*; by which the King signified his Pleasure, that He should reside any where in those Provinces He best liked, until He could conveniently repair to the King his Master; and that in the mean Time He should enjoy all the Privileges due to an Ambassador: And so He had his Audience in that Quality. He spake in *Latin*; and the Arch-Duke answering in the same, assured him of all the Respects He could pay him, whilst He staid in those Parts; and thereupon He went to his Family at *Antwerp*, and kept that Character till the King's⁽¹²²⁾ coming into *France*, and his Return to him; by Means whereof He enjoyed many Privileges, and Exemptions in the Town; and had the Freedom of his Chapel, not only for his own Devotions, but for the Resort of all the Protestants, who were then in the Town; whereof the Marquis of *Newcastle*, the Earl of *Norwich*, and Sir *Charles Cavendish* were the principal; who came always on the *Sundays*, and frequently on the Week Days, to the Common Prayer, to the Grief of many *English*, and *Irish* Ro-

Has an Au-
dience of the
Arch-Duke.

And resides
with his Fa-
mily at Ant-
werp in the
Character of
Ambassador.

man

man Catholicks; who used all the malicious Artifices They could, to procure that Liberty to be restrained; and which could not have been enjoyed under any other Concession, than by the Privilege of an Ambassador.

WHILST He was preparing to make a Journey to the *Hague* to wait upon the Duke of *York*, according to the Promise He had made to the Queen, He received Information from the *Hague*, that his Royal Highness would be at *Breda* such a Day; ^{He goes to the Duke of York at Breda. to persuade him to return to Paris.} whereupon He was glad to shorten his Journey, and at the Day, to kiss his Hands there; where He found his Highness newly arrived; and in an Inclination enough to return to the Queen; so that the Chancellor had no great Task to confirm him in that Resolution; nor in Truth did He know what else to do: however all about him were very glad of the Chancellor's Presence, every Body hoping to get him to their Party, that He might be ready to make a fair Report of their Behaviour to the King; whom They knew the Queen would endeavour to incense against them.

NEVER little Family was torn into so many Pieces ^{Some Account of the Duke of York's Family.} and Factions. The Duke was very young; yet loved Intrigues so well, that He was too much inclined to hearken to any Men, who had the Confidence to make bold Propositions to him. The King had appointed him to remain with the Queen; and to obey her in all Things, Religion only excepted. The Lord *Byron* was his Governour, ordained to be so by his Father, and very fit for that Province; being a very fine Gentleman; well bred both in *France*, and *Italy*; and perfectly versed in both Languages; of great Courage, and Fidelity; and in all Respects qualified for the Trust; but his being absent in the King's Service, when the Duke made his Escape out of *England*, and Sir *John Berkley* being then put about him, all Pains had been taken

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to

to lessen his Esteem of the Lord *Byron*; and Sir *John Berkley* knowing that He could no longer remain Governour, when the Lord *Byron* came thither; and hearing that He was in his Journey, infused into the Duke's Mind, that it was a great lessening of his Dignity at that Age (when He was not above fourteen Years of Age, and backward enough for that Age) to be under a Governour; and so partly by disesteeming the Person, and partly by reproaching the Office, He grew less inclined to the Person of that good Lord, than He should have been.

BUT what Title soever any Body had, the whole Authority was in the Queen; not only by the Direction of the King, but by inevitable Necessity; for there was no Kind of Fund assigned for the Support of the Duke; but He depended entirely upon the Queen his Mother's Bounty, who had no more assigned for herself, than They, to whom the Management thereof was committed, knew well how to dispose of, nor was it enough to serve their Occasions; so that her Majesty herself, certainly spent less upon her own Person, or in any Thing relating to herself, than ever any Queen, or Lady of a very eminent Degree did. This visible, and total Dependance of the Duke upon his Mother, made her Majesty the less apprehensive of his doing any Thing contrary to her liking; and there was not that Care for the general Part of his Education; nor that Indulgence to his Person, as ought to have been; and the Queen's own Carriage and Behaviour towards him was at least severe enough; as it had been before to the King, in the Time that He was Prince; which then, and now gave Opportunity to those, who were not themselves at Ease, to make many Infusions; which how contrary soever to their Duties, were not so unreasonable, as to be easily rejected, or to make no Impression.

THE

THE King at his going from *Beauvais* in his Voyage for *Scotland*, had given some Recommendation to the Duke his Brother, of Sir *George Ratcliffe*; to whose Care his Father had once designed to commit him, when He meant to have sent him into *Ireland*; and his Majesty had likewise, at the same Time at *Beauvais*, made some Promise to Sir *George Ratcliffe* of some Place about his Brother, when his Family should be settled, of which there was then little Appearance: however it was enough to entitle him to give his frequent Attendance upon the Duke; and the general Reputation He had, of having been the Person of the nearest Trust with the Earl of *Strafford*, might well dispose the Duke to think him a wise Man; and the better to esteem any Thing He said to him.

SIR *Edward Herbert* thought himself the wisest Man that followed the King's Fortune; and was always angry that He had no more to do; and now Prince *Rupert* was absent, endeavoured all He could, to get Credit with the Duke of *York*; and came very frequently to him, and held him in long Whispers, which the Duke easily indulged to him, out of a real Belief that He was a Man of great Wisdom, and Experience: The Queen liked neither of these two; which They well enough discerning, grew into a Friendship, or rather, a Familiarity together, though They were of the most different Natures, and Humours imaginable: *Ratcliffe* being a Man very capable of Business; and if the Prosperity of his former Fortune, had not raised in him some Fumes of Vanity, and Self-conceitedness, was very fit to be advised with; being of a Nature constant, and sincere; which the other was not; yet They agreed well in the Design of making the Duke of *York* discontented, and weary of his Condition; which was not pleasant enough to be much delighted in.

The Cause of
the Duke of
York's hav-
ing left Pa-
ris.

THE News from *England*, of the State of the King's Affairs in *Scotland*, made most Men believe that his Majesty was irrecoverably lost; and there was for some Time a Rumour scattered abroad, and by many believed, that the King was dead. These two Gentlemen, upon the Fame of this, consulted together, whether if the News were, or should be true, the Duke of *York*, who must succeed, were in a good Place; and both concluded, that in that Case, it would not be fit that He should be with his Mother. Hereupon They perswaded the Duke, that it was not fit for him to remain idle in *France*; but to employ himself Abroad, whereby his Experience might be improved; and He might put himself into a Posture to be able to assist the King his Brother; or if any Misfortune should befall him, in some Degree to provide for himself; and proposed to him, that He would resolve to make a Journey to *Brussels*, to advise and consult with the Duke of *Lorraine*, who was a Prince of great Wisdom, Wealth, and Courage; and being driven out of his own Country, by too powerful and potent a Neighbour, had yet by his own Activity, and Virtue made himself so considerable, that *Spain* depended upon his Army; and *France* itself would be glad of his Friendship; that He was very rich, and would not be only able to give the Duke good Counsel, but Assistance to make it effectual.

THE Duke without farther examining the Probability of the Design, which He concluded had been thought upon enough by two such wise Men, gave his full Consent to it; and They having likewise found Credit for so much Money as would defray the Charges of the Journey, and really believing that the King was dead, the Duke one Day told the Queen, that He was resolved to make a Journey to *Brussels* to see the Duke of *Lorraine*; with which the Queen being surpris'd, used both her Reason,

Reason, and her Authority to dissuade him from it, but could not prevail by either; his Highness telling her very obstinately, that He would begin his Journey within two Days. She found that none of his Servants were privy to the Design, or were at all acquainted with the Purpose; and quickly discovered the two Counsellors; who having no Relation to his Service that She knew, were prepared to wait on him, and had drawn Dr. *Steward* (who was Dean of the Chapel to the King, and left behind, when his Majesty went for *Scotland*, with Direction to be with the Duke of *York*) to be of their Party.

THE Doctor was a very honest, and learned Gentleman; and most conversant in that Learning, which vindicated the Dignity, and Authority of the Church; upon which his Heart was most entirely set; not without some Prejudice to those, who thought there was any other Object to be more carefully pursued. Sir *George Ratcliffe* seemed to be of his Mind; and so was looked upon by him as one of the best Friends of the Church, which was Virtue enough to cover many Defects. He told him of the Rumour of the Death of the King; and what Conference had been between him, and the Attorney General upon it, which They both believed; and how necessary They thought it was for the Duke to be out of *France*, when the Certainty of that News should arrive: That They had spoken with the Duke of it; who seemed very well disposed, yet They knew not how his Mother's Authority might prevail over his Obedience; and therefore wished that He would speak with the Duke, who had great Reverence for him in all Matters of Conscience, and remove any Scruples which might arise. The Doctor did not think himself so much regarded by the Queen, as He expected to be; and did really believe the Case to be such as the other

*Character of
Dr. Steward.*

had informed him; and confirmed the Duke in his Resolution, notwithstanding any Thing his Mother should say to the contrary; and the Queen could neither say, or do any Thing to dissuade him from the Journey.

THE Lord *Byron* his Governour, and Mr. *Bennet* his Secretary, both well liked by the Queen, and of great Confidence in each other, thought it their Duty to attend upon him. Sir *John Berkley* staid behind, as well to avoid the being inferior to another, which He always abhorred; as to prosecute an Amour, which He was newly embarked in; and Sir *George Ratcliffe*, and Sir *Edward Herbert*, and the good Doctor were so to improve their Interest, that neither the Queen, or any who depended on her, might have any Credit with the Duke. Most of the inferior Servants depended upon them, because They saw They had most Interest with their Master; and with these Thoughts, and Resolutions, They all set out for *Brussels*; and these wild Notions were the true Reasons, and Foundation of that Journey; which many sober Men so much wondered at then; and so much censured afterwards.

WHEN his Highness came to *Brussels*, He was accommodated in the House of Sir *Henry De Vic*, the King's Resident there: And He was no sooner there, but They began to model his House, and regulate his Family; towards which, Sir *George Ratcliffe* was designed to manage all the Affairs of Money; the Attorney contenting himself with having the greatest Power in governing the Councils; and all looking for other Stations upon the Arrival of the News from *Scotland*. But in a short Time the Intelligence from thence was quite contrary to what They expected; the King was not only in good Health, but his Affairs in no desperate Condition; all Factions seemed reconciled; and He was at the Head of an Army, that looked *Cromwell* in the Face.

HERE-

HEREUPON They were at a great Stand in their Councils. The Duke of *Lorrain* had been civil to the Duke; and had at his first coming lent him some Money; but when He found He was without any Design; and by what Persons his Counfels were directed, He grew colder in his Respects: and They who had gone thus far, took upon them the Presumption to propose a Marriage between the Duke of *York*, and a natural Daughter of the Duke of *Lorrain*; his Marriage with *Madame de Cante-croix*, the Mother of the said Lady, being declared void in the Court of *Rome*: but the Duke of *Lorrain* was so wise as not to entertain the Motion, except it should be made with the King's Privity. So apt are unexperienced Men, when They are once out of the Way, to wander into Bogs, and Precipices, before They will be sensible of their false Conduct. When They found there was Nothing to be done at *Brussels*, They persuaded the Duke to go to the *Hague*, with as little Design; and when They had wearied all People there, They came to *Breda*, where the Chancellor had met them.

THE Duke himself was so young, that He was rather delighted with the Journies He had made, than sensible that He had not entered upon them with Reason enough; and They had fortified him with a firm Resolution, never to acknowledge that He had committed any Error. But his Counsellors had lost all the Pleasure of their Combination; and reproached each other of their Follies, and Presumptions, with all the Animosity imaginable. The Lord *Byron*, and Mr. *Bennet*, who had comforted each other in their Sufferings, were glad enough to see that there was some End put to their Peregrinations; and that by returning to the Queen, They were like to find some Rest again: and They entertained the Chancellor with many ridiculous Relations of the Politicks of the Attorney, and Sir *George*

*The State of
the Duke of
York's Fa-
mily at Bre-
da.*

Ratcliffe, and of the pleasant Discourses the Duke of *Lorrain* made of the *Latin* Orations, Sir *George Ratcliffe* had entertained him with.

ON the other Hand, Sir *George* was well pleased with the Grace He had received from the Duke of *Lorrain*; and with the Testimony He had given of him to some Men, who had told him of it again, that He was a very grave, and a wise Man; and that He wished He had such another to look after his Affairs. He, and Dr. *Steward* continued their Affections towards each other; and concurred in most bitter Invectives against Sir *Edward Herbert*, as a mad Man, and of that intolerable Pride, that it was not possible for any Man to converse with him; and the Attorney as frankly reproached them all, with being Men of no Parts, of no Understanding, no Learning, no Principles, and no Resolution; and was so just to them all, as to condemn every Man alike; and in Truth, had rendered himself so grievous to them all, and behaved himself so insolently towards all, that there was not a Man who desired to be in his Company: yet by the Knack of his Talk, which was the most like Reason, and not it, He retained still great Credit with the Duke; who being still confounded with his positive Discourse, thought him to be wiser than those⁽¹²⁶⁾ who were more easy to be understood.

THE Duke upon the Receipt of the Queen's Letters, which the Chancellor delivered to him, resolved upon his Journey to *Paris*, without farther Delay; and the Chancellor waiting upon his Highness as far as *Antwerp*, He prosecuted his Journey with the same Retinue He had carried with him; and was received by his Mother without those Expostulations, and Reprehensions, which He might have expected; though her Severity was the same towards all those, who She thought had the Credit, and Power to seduce him.

THE

THE Chancellor was now at a little Rest again with his own Family in *Antwerp*: and had Time to be vacant to his own Thoughts, and Books; and in the Interval to enjoy the Conversation of many worthy Persons of his own Nation, who had chosen that Place to spend the Time of their Banishment in. There was the Marquis of *Newcastle*, who having married a young Lady, confined himself most to her Company; and lived as retired, as his ruined Condition in *England* obliged him to; yet with Honour, and Decency, and with much Respect paid him by all Men, as well Foreigners, as those of his own Country. The Conversation the Chancellor took most Delight in, was that of Sir *Charles Cavendish*, Brother to the Marquis; who was one of the most extraordinary Persons of that Age, in all the noble Endowments of the Mind. He had all the Disadvantages imaginable in his Person; which was not only of so small a Size, that it drew the Eyes of Men upon him; but with such Deformity in his little Person, and an Aspect in his Countenance, that was apter to raise Contempt than Application: But in this unhandsome, or homely Habitation, there was a Mind and a Soul lodged that was very lovely, and beautiful; cultivated, and polished by all the Knowledge, and Wisdom, that Arts, and Sciences could supply it with. He was a great Philosopher, in the Extent of it; and an excellent Mathematician; whose Correspondence was very dear to *Gassendus*, and *Descartes*; the last of which dedicated some of his Works to him. He had very notable Courage; and the Vigour of his Mind, so adorned his Body, that being with his Brother the Marquis in all the War, He usually went out in all Parties, and was present, and charged the Enemy in all Battles, with as keen a Courage, as could dwell in the Heart of Man. But then the Gentleness of his Disposition, the Humility

The Chancellor's Friendship with, and Character of Sir Charles Cavendish.

ty and Meekness of his Nature, and the Vivacity of his Wit was admirable. He was so modest, that He could hardly be prevailed with to enlarge himself on Subjects, He understood better than other Men, except He were pressed by his very familiar Friends; as if He thought it Presumption to know more, than handsomer Men use to do. Above all, his Virtue, and Piety was such, that no Temptation could work upon him to consent to any Thing, that swerved in the least Degree from the precise Rules of Honour; or the most severe Rules of Conscience.

WHEN He was exceedingly importuned by those whom He loved best, to go into *England*, and compound for his Estate, which was very good, that thereby He might be enabled to help his Friends, who were reduced into great Streights; He refused it, out of Apprehension that He might be required to take the *Covenant*, or *Engagement*, or to do somewhat else, which his Conscience would not permit him to do: and when They endeavoured to undervalue that Conscience, and to persuade him not to be governed by it, that would expose him to Famine, and restrain him from being charitable to his best Friends; He was so offended with their Argumentation, that He would no more admit any Discourse upon the Subject. Upon which They applied themselves to the Chancellor; who They thought, had most Credit with him; and desired him to persuade him to make a Journey into *England*; the Benefit whereof to him, and themselves was very intelligible; but informed him not of his Refusal, and the Arguments They had used to convert him.

The Chancellor persuades Sir Charles Cavendish to go into England.

THE next Time They met, which They usually did once a Day, the Chancellor told him, He heard He had a Purpose to make a Journey into *England*; to which He suddenly answered, that indeed He

He was desired to do so, but that He had positively refused; and thereupon with much Warmth, and Indignation, related what Importunity, and what Arguments had been used to him, and what He had answered: and thereupon said, that his present Condition was in no Degree pleasant, or easy to him (as in Truth it was not, He being in very visible Want of ordinary Conveniencies) but, He protested, that He would rather submit to Nakedness, or starving in the Street, than subscribe to the *Covenant*, or *Engagement*, or do any Thing else that might trench upon his Honour, or his Conscience. To which the Chancellor replied, that his Resolution became him, and was worthy of his Wisdom, and Honesty; and that if He found him inclined to do any Thing that might trench upon either, He was so much his Friend, that He would put him in Mind of his Obligations to both; that indeed the Arguments which had been used to him could never prevail upon a virtuous Mind: however, He told him, He thought the Motion from his Friends might be a little more considered, before it was rejected; and confessed to him, that He was desired to confer with him about it, and to dispose him to it; without being informed, that any Attempt had been already made: and then asked him, whether He did in Truth believe, that his Journey thither, might probably produce those Benefits to himself, and his Friends, as They imagined; and then it would be fit to consider whether those Conveniences were to be purchased at a dearer Price than they were worth.

He answered, there could be no Doubt, but that if He could go thither with Safety, and be admitted to compound for his Estate, as others did, He could then sell it at so good a Price, that He could not only provide for a competent Subsistence for himself, when He returned, but likewise assist
his

his Friends for their better Support; and that He could otherwise, out of Lands that were in Trust, and not known to be his, and so had not been yet sequestered, raise other Sums of Money, which would be attended with many Conveniences; and He confessed Nothing of all this could be done without his own Presence. But then that which deprived him of all this, was, in the first Place, the Apprehension of Imprisonment; which, He said, his Constitution would not bear; but especially, because by their own Ordinance, no Body was capable to compound, till He had subscribed to the *Covenant*, and *Engagement*; which He would not do to save his Life; and that in what Necessity soever He was, He valued what Benefit He could possibly receive by the Journey, only as it might consist with his Innocence, and Liberty to return; and since He could not reasonably presume of either, He had no Thought of going.

THE Chancellor told him, that They were both of the same Mind in all Things which related to Conscience and Honour; but yet, since the Benefits that might result from this Journey were great, and very probable, and in some Degree certain; and the Mischiefs He apprehended were not certain, and possibly might be avoided, He thought He was not to lay aside all Thoughts of the Jour-⁽¹²⁸⁾ney, which He was so importuned to undertake by those who were so dear to him. That He was of the Few who had many Friends, and no Enemies; and therefore had no Reason to fear Imprisonment, or any other Rigour extraordinary; which was seldom used, but to Persons under some notable Prejudice. That after He once came to *London*, He would not take much Pleasure in going abroad; but might dispatch his Business by others, who would repair to him: and that for the *Covenant* and *Engagement*, they were so contrary, that both were rarely

rarely offered to the same Person; and They had now so much jostled, and reviled each other, that They were neither in so much Credit as They had been; and were not pressed; but upon such Persons, against whom They had a particular Design; however He went well armed as to that Point, with a Resolution not to submit to either; and the worst that could happen, was to return without the full Effect of his Journey. Whereas if those Mischiefs could be avoided, which the skilfull upon the Place could only instruct him in, He would return with great Benefit, and Satisfaction to himself, and his Friends: and if He were subjected to Imprisonment (which He ought not to apprehend, and could be but short) even in that Case, his Journey could not be without Fruit, by the Conference, and Transactions with his Friends; though no Composition could be made. Upon revolving these Considerations, He resolved to undertake the Journey; and performed it so happily, without those Obstructions He feared, that He finished all He proposed to himself; and made a competent Provision to support his Brother during his Distress; though when He had dispatched it, He lived not to enjoy the Repose He desired; but died before He could return to *Antwerp*, and the Marquis ever after publickly acknowledged the Benefit He received hereby, to the Chancellor's Advice.

As soon as the Chancellor had reposed himself at *Antwerp*, after so much Fatigue; He thought it necessary to give some Account of himself to the King; and though the Prohibition before his going into *Scotland*, and the sending away many of the Servants who attended him thither out of the Kingdom, made it unfit for him to repair thither himself; He resolved to send his Secretary (a Man of Fidelity, and well known to the King) to inform his Majesty of all that had passed; and to bring back

back his Commands ; but when He was at *Amsterdam*, ready to embark, upon a Ship bound for *Scotland*, the News arrived there, of his Majesty's being upon his March for *England* ; upon which He returned to *Antwerp* ; where He founds the Spirits of all the *English* exalted with the same Advertisement.

As soon as the King came to *Paris* (after his wonderful Deliverance from the Battle of *Worcester*) and knew that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was at *Antwerp*, his Majesty sent to him to repair thither, which He accordingly did ; and for the first four, or five Days after his Arrival, the King spent many Hours with him in Private ; and informed him of many Particulars of the Treatment He had met with in *Scotland* ; of his March into *England* ; of the Confusion at *Worcester* ; and all the Circumstances of his happy Escape and Deliverance. *Hist. of the Reb. Folio, Vol. 3. P. 332.*

*The Queen
endeavours
to attach the
Chancellor to
her Interest.*

THE Chancellor was yet looked upon with no ungracious Eye by her Majesty ; only the Lord *Jermyn* knew well He would never resign himself to be disposed of, which was the Temper that could only endear any Man to him : For besides former Experience, an Attempt had been lately made upon him by Sir *John Berkley* ; who told him, that the Queen had a good Opinion of him ; and knew well in how ill a Condition He must be, in Respect of his Subsistence ; and that She would assign him such a competent Maintenance, that He should be able to draw his Family to him out of *Flanders*, to *Paris*, and to live comfortably together, if She might be confident of his Service, and that He would always concur with her in his Advice to the King. To which He answered, that He should never fail in performing his Duty to the Queen, whom He
acknow-

acknowledged to be his most gracious Mistrefs, with all possible Integrity: But as He was a Servant, and Counsellor to the King, so He should always consider what was good for his Service; and never decline that out of any Compliance whatsoever; and that He did not desire to be supported from any Bounty, but the King's; nor more by his, than in Proportion with what his Majesty should be able to do for his other Servants. And shortly after the Queen herself speaking with him, and complaining, that She had no Credit with the King; the Chancellor desired her not to think so; He knew well *His Answer.* the King had great Duty for her, which He would still preserve towards her; but as it would not be fit for her to affect such an Interest as to be thought to govern; so Nothing could be more disadvantageous to the King, and to his Interest, than that the World should believe that He was absolutely governed by his Mother; which He found (though She seemed to consent to it) was no acceptable Declaration to her. However She did often employ him to the King, upon such Particulars as troubled, or offended her; as once for the Removal of a young Lady out of the *Louvre*, who had procured a Lodging there, without her Majesty's Consent; and with whom her Majesty was justly offended, for the little Respect She shewed towards her Majesty; and when the Chancellor had prevailed so far with the King, that He obliged the Lady to remove out of the *Louvre*, to satisfy his Mother; the Queen was well content that the Lady herself, and her Friends should believe, that She had undergone that Affront merely by the Malice, and Credit of the Chancellor.

THE King remained at *Paris* till the Year 1654; when in the Month of *June*, He left *France*; and passing through *Flanders*, went to *Spa*;

Spa; where He proposed to spend two, or three Months, with his Sister, the Princess Royal. His Stay at *Spa* was not so long as He intended, the Small Pox breaking out there --- His Majesty, and his Sister suddenly removed to *Aix-la-Chapelle*. *Hist. of the Reb.* Folio, Vol. 3. P. 417, 418, 419.

*The Situation
of the Chan-
cellor's Family
at Antwerp.*

† AT this Time there fell out an Accident necessary to be inserted in the particular Relation of the Chancellor's Life; which had afterwards an Influence upon his Fortune; and a very great one upon the Peace and Quiet of his Mind, and of his Family. When the King resolved, immediately after the Murder of his Father, to send the Chancellor his Ambassador into *Spain*; the Chancellor, being to begin his Journey from the *Hague*, sent for his Wife, and Children, to meet him at *Antwerp*; and had at that Time only four Children, one Daughter, and three Sons; all of so tender Years, that their own Discretions could contribute little to their Education. These Children, under the sole Direction of a very discreet Mother, He left at *Antwerp*, competently provided for, for the Space of a Year or more; hoping in that Time, to be able to send them some farther Supply; and having removed them out of *England*, to prevent any Inconvenience that might befall them there, upon any⁽¹³⁰⁾ Accident that might result from his Negotiation in *Spain*; it being in those Times no unusual Thing for the Parliament, when it had conceived any notable Displeasure against a Man, who was out of

† The Entrance of the Chancellor's Daughter into the Family of the Princess Royal, is related in both Manuscripts. The Fact is here retained, as best preserving the Order of Time: The Circumstances preceding it, from p. 256. l. 13. to p. 258, l. 17. and the Conclusion of it p. 262. l. 34. to p. 263. l. 7. are transcribed from the Manuscript of *The Continuation*, and therefore the whole Transaction is omitted in that Part of this Work.

their

their Reach, to seize upon his Wife, and Children; and to imprison them, in what Manner, and for what Time seemed reasonable to them; and from this Hazard He was willing to preserve his. The King was in *Scotland* when the Chancellor returned from his Embassy to *Antwerp*, where his Family had still remained; his Children being grown as much as usually attends the Space of two Years, which was the Time He had been absent. The fatal Success at *Worcester* about this Time had put a Period to all his Majesty's present Designs; and He had no sooner made his wonderful Escape into *France*, than He sent for the Chancellor; who left his Family, as He had done formerly, and as meanly supplied, and made all Haste to *Paris*, where He found the King; with whom He remained till his Majesty was even compelled to remove from thence into *Germany*; which was above three Years.

DURING that Time the Princess Royal had, out of her own Princely Nature, and Inclination, cultivated by the Civility, and Offices of the Lady *Stanhope*, conferred a very seasonable Obligation upon him, by assigning a House, that was in her Disposal at *Breda*, to his Wife, and Children; who had thereupon left *Antwerp*; and without the Payment of any House Rent, were more conveniently, because more frugally, settled in their new Mansion at *Breda*; where He got Liberty to visit them for four, or five Days, whilst the King continued his Journey to the *Spa*; and after another Absence of near four Years; finding his Children grown and improved after that Rate. The gracious Inclination in the Princess Royal, towards the Chancellor's Wife, and Children (not without some Reprehension from *Paris*) and the Civilities in the Lady *Stanhope*, had proceeded much from the good Offices of *Daniel O Neile* of the King's Bed-chamber; who had for many Years lived in very good Correspondence

They removed to Breda.

dence with the Chancellor; and was very acceptable in the Court of the Princess Royal, and to those Persons who had the greatest Influence upon her Councils, and Affections.

THE Princess met the King her Brother at the *Spa*, rather for the mutual Comfort They took in each other, than for the Use either of them had of the Waters; yet the Princess engaged herself to that Order, and Diet that the Waters required; and after near a Months Stay there, They were forced suddenly to remove from thence, by the Sickness of some of the Princesses Women of the Small Pox; and resided at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, where They had been but one whole Day, when Notice came from the *Spa* that Mrs. *Killigrew*, one of the Maids of Honour to the Princess, was dead of the Small

Mr. O Neile
proposes to the
Chancellor to
ask for Mrs.
Killigrew's
Place for his
Daughter.

Pox. O Neile came in the Instant to the Chancellor with very much Kindness, and told him, that the Princess Royal had a very good Opinion of him, and kind Purposes towards his Family; which She knew suffered much for his Fidelity to the King; and therefore that She was much troubled to find that her Mother the Queen had less Kindness for him than He deserved; that by the Death of Mrs. *Killigrew* there was a Place now fallen, which very many would desire; and that it would no sooner be known at *Paris*, than the Queen would undoubtedly recommend some Lady to the Princess; but He was confident that, if the Chancellor would move the King to recommend his Daughter, who was known to the Princess, her Highness would willingly receive her. He thanked him for his particular Kindness; but conjured him not to use his Interest to promote any such Pretence; and told him that "himself would not apply the King's Fa-⁽¹³¹⁾
"vour to such a Request; that He had but one
"Daughter, who was all the Company, and Com-
"fort her Mother had, in her melancholick Retirement;

Which the
Chancellor de-
clines.

"ment; and therefore He was resolved not to separate them; nor to dispose his Daughter to a "Court Life;" which He did in Truth perfectly detest. *O Neile*, much disappointed with the Answer, and believing that the Proposition would have been very grateful to him, confessed, that the Princess had been already moved in it by the Lady *Chesterfield*; and that it was her own Desire that the King should move it to her; to the End, that She might be thereby sheltered from the Reproach which She expected from the Queen; but that the Princess herself had so much Kindness for his Daughter, that She had long resolved to have her upon the first Vacancy. The Chancellor was exceedingly perplexed; and resolved nothing more, than that his Daughter should not live from her Mother; and therefore renewed his Conjurations to Mr. *O Neile*, that He would not farther promote it, since it would never be acceptable to him; and concluded, that his making no Application, and the Importunity of others who desired the Honour, would put an End to the Pretence.

THE King had heard of the Matter, from the Princess, and willingly expected when the Chancellor would move him for his Recommendation; ^{*The King speaks to him on that Subject.*} which when He saw He forbore to do, He spake himself to him of it; and asked him, why He did not make such a Suit to him; upon which the Chancellor told him all that had passed between *O Neile* and him; and that for many Reasons, He declined the receiving that Obligation from the Princess; and therefore He had no Use of his Majesty's Favour in it. The King told him plainly, that "his Sister upon having seen his Daughter "some Days, liked her so well, that She desired to "have her about her Person; and had herself spoken to him to move it to her, for the Reason "aforesaid, and to prevent any Displeasure from the

The Chancellor's Answer.

His Discourse with the Princess Royal.

“Queen; and He knew not how the Chancellor could, or why He should omit such an Opportunity of providing for his Daughter, in so honourable a Way.” The Chancellor told him, “He could not dispute the Reasons with him; only that He could not give himself Leave to deprive his Wife of her Daughter’s Company; nor believe that She could be more advantageously bred, than under her Mother.” Hereupon he went to the Princess, and took Notice of the Honour She was inclined to do him; but, He told Her, the Honour was not fit for him to receive, nor the Conjunction seasonable for her Royal Highness to confer it: That She could not but know his Condition, being deprived of his Estate; and if her Highness’s Bounty had not assigned a House at *Breda*, where his Wife, and Family lived Rent free, They had not known how to have subsisted: But by that her Favour, and small Supplies his Friends in *England* secretly sent over to them, sustained them in that private Retirement in which They lived; so that it was not in his Power to make his Daughter such an Allowance, as would enable her to live in her Court, in that Manner as would become her Relation.

THE Princess would not permit him to enlarge; but very generously told him, that She knew well the Streightness of his Condition, and how it came to be so low; and had no Thought, that He should be at the Charge to maintain his Daughter in her Service; that He should leave that to Her: and so used many Expressions of Esteem of him, and of Kindness, and Grace to his Daughter. He foreseeing, and expecting such Generosity, replied to her, that since her Goodness disposed her to such an Act of Charity, and Honour; it became his Duty, and Gratitude to provide, that She should bring no In-⁽¹³²⁾convenience upon herself: That He had the Misfortune

fortune (with all the Innocence, and Integrity imaginable) to be more in the Queen her Mother's Disfavour, than any Gentleman, who had had the Honour to serve the Crown so many Years in some Trust; that all the Application He could make, nor the King's own Interposition, could prevail with her Majesty, to receive him into her gracious Opinion; and that He could not but know, that this unseasonable Act of Charity, which her Highness would vouchsafe to so ungracious a Family, would produce some Resentment, and Displeasure from the Queen her Mother, towards her Highness; and increase the Weight of her severe Indignation against him, which so heavily oppressed him already; and therefore He resolved to prevent that Mischief, which would undoubtedly befall her Highness; and would not submit to the receiving the Fruits of her favourable Condescension.

To this the Princess answered with some Warmth, that She had always paid that Duty to the Queen her Mother, which was due to her; and would never give her a just Cause to be offended with her: But that She was Mistress of her own Family, and might receive what Servants She pleased; and that She should commit a great Fault against the Queen, if She should forbear to do a good, and a just Action, to which She was inclined, out of Apprehension that her Majesty would be offended at it. She said, She knew some ill Offices had been done him to her Mother, for which She was sorry; and doubted not, but her Majesty would in due Time discern that She had been misinformed, and mistaken; and then She would like and approve of what her Highness should now do. In the mean Time She was resolved to take his Daughter, and would send for her as soon as She returned into *Holland*. The Chancellor, not in any Degree converted; but confounded with the gracious and frank Discourse of

the Princess Royal, knew not what more to say; replied only, that He hoped her Highness would think better of what She seemed to undervalue, and that He left his Daughter to be disposed of by her Mother, who He knew would be very unwilling to part with her; upon which her Highness answered, "I'll warrant you, my Lady and I will agree upon the Matter." To conclude this Discourse, which, considering what fell out afterwards, is not impertinent to be remembered; He knew his Wife had no Inclination to have her Daughter out of her own Company; and when He had by Letter informed her of all that had passed, He endeavoured to confirm her in that Resolution: but when the Princess after her Return into *Holland* sent to her, and renewed her gracious Offer; She, upon Consultation with Dr. *Morley* (who upon the old Friendship between the Chancellor and him, chose in his Banishment, from the Murder of the King, to make his Residence for the most Part in his Family, and was always perfectly kind to all his Interests) believed it might prove for her Daughter's Benefit; and writ to her Husband her Opinion, and the Doctor concurred in the same.

His Wife accepts the Offer, and presents her Daughter to the Princess.

THE Chancellor looked upon the Matter itself, and all the Circumstances thereof, as having some Marks of Divine Providence, which He would not resist; and so referred it wholly to his Wife; who when She had presented her Daughter to the Princess, came herself to reside with her Husband, to his great Comfort; and which He could not have enjoyed, if the other Separation had not been made; and possibly that Consideration had the more easily disposed her to consent to the other. We have now set down all the Passages, and Circumstances which accompanied, or attended that Lady's first Promotion, to the Service of the Princess Royal; which the extreme Averseness in her Father, and Mother, (133) from

from embracing that Opportunity, and the unusual Grace, and Importunity from them who conferred the Honour, being considered, there may appear to many an extraordinary Operation of Providence, in giving the first Rise to what afterwards succeeded; though of a Nature so transcendent, as cannot be thought to have any Relation to it.

AFTER an unsuccessful Insurrection of some of the King's Friends in *England*, *Cromwell* exercised the utmost Severity, and Cruelty against them; putting many to Death; and transporting others, as Slaves to *Barbadoes*; and by his own Authority, and that of his Council, made an Order, that all Persons who had ever born Arms for, or declared themselves of, the Royal Party, should be decimated; that is, pay a tenth Part of all the Estate They had left, to support the Charge of the Commonwealth; and published a Declaration to justify his Proceedings: *Hist. of Cromwell*
the Reb. Folio, Vol. 3. from P. 429, to 444. which ^{publishes a Declaration} confidently set down such Maxims, as made it manifest to all who had ever served the King, or would ^{justifying his} not submit to *Cromwell's* Power, and Government, ^{Order for} that They had nothing that They could call their ^{decimating the} own, but must be disposed of at his Pleasure; which ^{King's Party.} as much concerned all other Parties, as the King's, in the Consequence.

THIS Declaration as soon as printed, was sent over to *Cologne*, where the King then was, and the Chancellor was commanded by the King to write ^{To which the} some Discourse upon it, to awaken the People, and ^{Chancellor by} shew them their Concernment in it; which He did ^{the King's} by Way of a Letter to a Friend; which was like- ^{Command} wise sent into *England*, and there printed; and when ^{writes an} *Cromwell* called his next Parliament, it was made ^{Answer.} great Use of to inflame the People; and make them sensible of the Destruction that attended them;
 and

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and was thought then to produce many good Effects. And so we conclude this Part.

Montpelier, 27th of May, 1670.

THE Seventh and last Part of the Manuscript is dated at Montpelier, August the 1st, 1670, and continues the History from the King's Residence at Cologne, to the Restoration of the Royal Family in 1660; containing the Substance of what is printed in the two last Books of The History of the Rebellion. The only remarkable Circumstance of the Author's Life during that Period is, that in the Year 1657, while the King was at Bruges, his Majesty appointed the Chancellor of the Exchequer to be Lord High Chancellor of England; and delivered the Great Seal into his Custody, upon the Death of Sir Edward Herbert, the last Lord Keeper thereof, Hist. of the Reb. Vol. 3. P. 480.



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